Sociological Insight

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From the Editor

When I look back on the last two years of my life, I am almost shocked to see where I am today. Indeed, when I first saw the membership flyer for *Sociological Insight* at the beginning of my junior year, my concept of sociology amounted to little more than a major listed on a diploma and the wispy thought of a master's degree sometime in the distant future. While I eagerly attended sociology classes, wrote sociology papers and read sociology books, I never considered sociology to be my true calling in life. Imagine my surprise, then, to be sitting here two years later, solidifying summer research plans, presenting essays on social phenomena, making concrete graduate school plans and, perhaps most excitingly, composing a letter as the 2013-2014 Editor-in-Chief of *Sociological Insight.* While it seems almost cliche to say (and feels even more cliche to write), seeing that membership flyer changed the direction of my life forever.

Sociological Insight, now in its sixth edition, serves two main purposes. First and foremost, *Sociological Insight's* primary mission is to be a professional yet accessible way to promote the hard work of undergraduate social science researchers across the world. In a field in which even post-graduate research competes for publication in top journals, the research of undergraduates, while often novel, significant, and compelling, is nonetheless often overlooked. *Sociological Insight* corrects this inattention by annually drawing from this pool of neglected research to publish the best of the best that sociology undergraduates have to offer. The process of separating the good submissions from the great submissions is rigorous and lengthy: after a general call for papers in the Fall, research submitted to *Sociological Insight* undergoes three rounds of peer review, starting with initial acceptance or rejection by the executive staff, followed by intensive review by teamed pairs of associate editor undergraduates and graduate student volunteers, and concluded with the recommendations of faculty members who review the remaining papers with a trained, critical eye. Each step in the process involves the possibility that a paper could be sent back for more revision or flat-out rejected. As a result, only the highest quality pieces are published, which is intended to promote a meticulous, rigorous and proficient work ethic among aspiring sociologists. The end product of such rigorous evaluation is a journal not unlike those that abound in the professional world: a peer-reviewed collection of superior articles that staff members and published authors alike can be proud of.

The second main purpose of *Sociological Insight* is the dissemination of research knowledge and experience among its executive and associate staff members. Here, my own

story again becomes relevant: if it were not for my decision to join *Sociological Insight* in my junior year, I might never have been exposed to the truly complex process of producing, editing, and publishing social science research, nor come to respect and love the truly amazing field of sociology. My own experience is what the executive staff of *Sociological Insight* hopes for all of its associate editors: each newcomer to the journal is not merely accepted as another warm body looking for something impressive to put on their resume, but seen as fresh mind on which to impress a working knowledge, understanding, appreciation and familiarity with social science research and its creation, revision and publication. In this way, *Sociological Insight* becomes a unique and invaluable learning experience for undergraduate editors and researchers alike.

Of course, neither of *Sociological Insight*'s goals could be accomplished without the significant contributions of others. With the utmost respect and gratitude, we would first like to thank all of the staff members and editors that came before us for creating the foundation that has developed into the notable publication of today. I would like to personally express my gratitude to Taylor Orth, *Sociological Insight's* former Editor-in-Chief, for not only believing in me, but believing in my ability to fill the big shoes she left behind. I hope that I have made her proud.

Further, the journal is heavily indebted to the continuing financial support of UT's College of Liberal Arts and the UT Sociology Department, without which the production of this journal would never be possible. In addition, and new this year, we would like to thank the UT LASSOs program for their recent financial contribution, which will allow us to continue to broaden our horizons for years to come.

The staff would also like to thank the chair of the Sociology department, Dr. Christine Williams, for allowing this journal to flourish and become the widely-known and respected publication it is today. *Sociological Insight* will always be in your debt.

Additionally, we owe particular thanks to our faculty advisor, Dr. Ekland-Olson, who has always been there for us in times of need. Last August, I had the privilege of traveling to the American Sociological Association's annual conference in New York thanks to Dr. Ekland-Olson's kind generosity, and I feel inexpressible gratitude for being allowed to experience such an intellectually stimulating and invaluable weekend – a weekend that solidified my resolution to become a sociologist. Your continued support of *Sociological Insight* is part of what keeps us going, year after year.

The sixth edition of *Sociological Insight* would not have been possible without the aid of all the faculty reviewers that worked so painstakingly on editing our final round of articles, including Dr. Hummer, Dr. Kirk, Dr. Simpson, Dr. Elias, and Dr. Haghshenas. The staff recognizes in each of you a role model that we will all strive to emulate, from our hard work with *Sociological Insight* to whatever lies beyond.

In addition, as always, the staff would also like to thank Debbie Rothschild for her enduring and unwavering devotion to *Sociological Insight.* Debbie is more than a sociology advisor, but the journal's underlying support system that ensures that packages are mailed, funds are managed, and professional letters processed. I know that I would have been lost without her direction and guidance during my first few weeks as Editor-in-Chief, and I know that she will continue to be one of the most invaluable contributors to *Sociological Insight's* success.

Finally, I would like to give credit for the new and exciting developments accomplished over the course of producing this year's edition: not only did we receive a record number of submissions, but we also secured more funding, cut printing and production costs, and completely redesigned the journal's logo to produce the fresh, distinctive and elegant icon that graces the cover today. While all of our achievements happened under my tenure as Editor-in-Chief, I cannot even begin to accept responsibility for them. Indeed, I can attribute almost all of these accomplishments to the ideas and sometimes amazing efforts of my fellow executive staff members Andrew Messamore, Jonathan Cortez, Lily Choi and Tiffany Fong. Never in my wildest dreams could I have envisioned having a staff with such dedication or vision, and I don't know that such an executive staff can ever be replicated again. Of course, I would also like to thank all of the associate editors and graduate reviewers for their help in making this most recent edition what it is today. Without your contributions, an entire step of the editing process would not be just unachievable, but borderline impossible. To all of you associate editors: the future of *Sociological Insight* will soon be in your hands, and I know that you will perpetuate the journal's tradition of quality and professionalism. I also want to specifically thank Anne Phan, the associate editor that came up with the original idea for *Sociological Insight's* new logo.

Sociological Insight's mission is to promote social science-based research, experience, understanding, and appreciation. For me, this journal also became the window through which I saw my possible future, a future in which sociology is my passion, goal and pride -- a future towards which I am now taking the first steps. In closing, I would like to express my sincerest wish that future authors, participants and editors of *Sociological Insight* not only find themselves learning about the complexities, rigors and expectations of sociological research, but also learning a little bit more about who they truly are.

Amanda Lacey
Editor-in-Chief

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Patrolling Borders: Symbolic Boundaries and the Culture of Campus Policing

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Acknowledgements: A very special thanks is owed to Dr. Christopher Wetzel for his continued support, invaluable guidance, and constructive feedback. Much appreciation is also given to the Cedarville College Police for sharing their insights and experiences.

Campus police officers, laboring in the terrain at the intersection of law enforcement and service work, face numerous challenges to crafting an honorable work identity. This paper analyzes the cultural foundations of professional identity among campus police officers at Cedarville College, a private liberal arts school in the Northeastern part of the United States. Drawing on ethnography and in-depth interviews, I argue that a perception of imminent danger links the officers' multiple claims to authenticity, which include discretion, work tasks, and brotherhood. Through the articulation of symbolic boundaries, campus police are able to accentuate their specialized knowledge and establish in-group solidarity, consequently renewing a sense of group worth despite the performance of service work. This paper ultimately furthers the existing literature on symbolic boundaries and the ways in which culture influences conceptions of proper work as well as the literature on campus policing in looking beyond service tasks.

I've had them [students] ask, 'Well, do you want to be a real police officer someday?' It doesn't hurt my feelings. And I'm like, 'well, I am a real police officer. But to your question, yes I'd like to work for a town or a city.' But that's the way people think. They don't take you very seriously already, off the bat.

They call us 'campo.' I hate that. It's stupid… 'Campo.' It's almost derogatory. It's the connotation that they're putting on the police department is like they're writing us off. -- Officer Cooper Wright

Sworn police officers working at colleges and universities routinely have their status questioned since the public typically only consider municipal officers as "real." Labels like "campo," imposed upon officers, make them feel as though others are "writing [them] off" and failing to take them "very seriously." While Officer Wright

acknowledges that he would "like to work for a town or a city," simply working elsewhere does not preclude his currently self-identifying as a "real police officer."

The modest existing literature on campus police officers' professional identities concludes that service work overwhelmingly, if not completely, determines the officers' sense of professional worth (Bordner and Peterson 1983; Heinsler, Kleinman, and Strenross 1990). However, I find that officers articulate complex cultural narratives about what makes their work honorable. Drawing on the Weberian and symbolic interactionist theoretical traditions, I argue that an overarching perception of imminent danger links officers' claims to authenticity, allowing them to infuse their work with meaning and forge in-group solidarity. In the next section, I situate this study in the literature on the cultural production of occupational status, emphasizing the role of symbolic boundaries in the articulation of authenticity claims. I then provide a detailed account of the study's mixed qualitative methodology, and conclude with an analysis that highlights the link between the belief in danger and three components crucial to the officers' identity: discretion, work tasks, and brotherhood.

LITERATURE REVIEW

According to Max Weber (1978), much of modern social life is organized by and around status groups, collectivities that share claims to social honor and common lifestyles. Competing in complex relations of super and subordination requires groups to continuously assert their distinctiveness. Status groups gain prestige through attributes associated with their particular lifestyles, which may include cultural beliefs, education, and type of occupation (Weber 1978). Prestige is further enhanced with group closure, facilitated by the "monopolization of ideal and material goods" (Weber 1978: 935). Justifying status involves engaging in symbolic "boundary-work," a process that is the central focus of this study (Lamont and Molnár 2002: 171).

Symbolic boundaries are critical to creating a distinctive collective identity. First, they are used to establish and articulate a collective worldview, thereby generating "feelings of similarity and group membership" (Lamont and Molnár 2002: 168). Boundaries unite group members around a common purpose, helping them to define the features important to their identity (Fine 2004). Within systems of inequality and in times of change, groups can also use symbolic boundaries to oppose and defend against objective marginalization and perceived threats. By making claims to legitimacy and authenticity, groups can re-affirm their collective worth (Lamont and Molnár 2002; Pritchard and Symon 2011; Trujillo- Pagán 2012; Vasquez and Wetzel 2009).

Groups maintain a positive identity by producing definitions of authenticity and legitimacy that depend upon culture (Pritchard and Symon 2011; Vasquez and Wetzel 2009). As culture changes across time and place, viewing it as a product of the interactions between members of a small group best captures the complexities of boundary-work (Fine 2007). For example, in his ethnography of meteorologists, Gary Alan Fine (2007) examines the way in which local cultures account for the unique professional outlooks and notions of proper work between groups of the same occupation. Although similar occupational groups may share certain cultural components, Fine emphasizes the importance of the idiosyncratic elements, including "self-referential humorous and joking references, gossip, anecdotes, customs, and nicknames" that contribute to group cohesion (Fine 2007: 70). These "informal" practices, along with "formal" components like education and training, help groups draw boundaries around elements like objects, people, and ideas of proper behavior that are central to their identity (Fine 2007: 70; Lamont and Molnár 2002). Focusing on the robust cultural narratives groups produce to define authenticity ultimately highlights the importance of seeing collective identities and symbolic boundaries as constantly (re)created through micro-level interactions (Goffman 1959; Vasquez and Wetzel 2009).

In the extant literature, campus police is an under-theorized group. While several studies have examined students' perceptions of their campus police (Griffith et al. 2004; Landuyt et al. 2010; Vinciguerra and Magane 2011), little research has considered the unique challenges campus officers face in establishing their professional reputations (Bordner and Peterson 1983; Heinsler, Kleinman, and Stenross 1990). By detailing the boundary making efforts of one group of officers at a private institution, my study offers a contemporary perspective on this topic.

Although there is a dearth of literature on campus police, the cultural analysis of occupational identities is not a new endeavor. Indeed, identity construction is a salient issue for occupational groups hoping to gain professional status such as nurses, artists, graduate research administrators, meteorologists, and call center workers (Apesoa-Varano 2007; Bain 2005; Collinson 2006; Fine 2004, 2007; Pritchard and Symon 2011). Re-investing work with positive meaning is a prominent theme among these studies (Apesoa-Varano 2007; Fine 2007; Pritchard and Symon 2011; Trujillo-Pagán 2012). For example, meteorologists, often ambivalent about the identity as "scientists," find value in their work by investing significant emotional energy in writing forecasts, envisioning their work as a form of artistry (Fine 2007). For campus police, prominent cases of on-campus shootings have ushered in new organizational changes, forcing departments to re-evaluate their professional purpose, standards, and practices. Although officers are gaining increased

access to specialized knowledge and skills, overcoming the stigma of security work remains a daily challenge.

Campus police officers are impacted by multiple and often competing forces, including higher education, law enforcement, and service work. Following on-campus shooting incidents like those at Virginia Tech in 2007 and Northern Illinois University in 2008, colleges and universities have implemented "best practices" to enhance student safety and to bolster their campus police organizations (Applied Risk Management 2008). Yet a recent Bureau of Justice Statistics report found the most common functions of campus police agencies remained service-related, such as special event security, locking and unlocking buildings, dispatching calls, and parking enforcement (Reaves 2008). As these tasks diverge from images often associated with "real" policing like "crime fighting," such dissonance can stigmatize the job as "dirty work" (Goffman 1963; Heinsler, Kleinman, and Stenross 1990:236, 239)[1]. At Cedarville College, officers routinely participate in law enforcement trainings like "Response to Active Shooter," where they learn to neutralize a shooter quickly instead of waiting for a SWAT team to arrive, yet the majority of their daily tasks involve unlocking dormitory doors and writing parking tickets. Given such disparate and potentially stigmatizing tasks, how do officers create and maintain a positive professional identity?

In this article, I reject the argument that work tasks are the decisive element of the occupational identity of campus police officers (Heinsler, Kleinman, and Stenross 1990). Instead, my qualitative analysis systematically examines the micro-interactions through which this culture is expressed, extended, and lived. My analysis emphasizes how the officers' perception of imminent danger offers them a means to create a positive, professional purpose through discretion, work tasks, and brotherhood. In these moments, officers use existing and uniquely created symbolic boundaries to make claims about their honorable work. For example, officers play on the boundary of the "thin blue line," shared by many municipal police cultures, by demonstrating loyalty in times of need to their "brothers" within and between departments (Crank 2004). The boundary between "front" and "back stage" is also important for creating distance from service work and pursuing tasks commensurate to officers' skills (Goffman 1959: 106-107, 112; Lamont 2001). At the same time, officers use formal and informal cultural elements to create boundaries. When making decisions about the severity of student behavior or the dangerousness of situations, officers rely upon past experience, trainings, and the norms of Cedarville College as a whole. Finally, jokes, specific to the actions of colleagues, make statements about authentic police work. My study, although exclusive to one small group, reflects the importance of the ways in which the dimensions of culture facilitate meaning making through work (Desmond 2006; Fine 2007).

METHODOLOGY

I conducted a qualitative study combining ethnography and in-depth interviews to understand the cultural dimensions central to the construction of campus police officers' professional identity at Cedarville College, a private liberal arts college in the Northeast part of the United States. This was an ideal case to study since the existing literature has focused on large, southern public universities (Bordner and Peterson 1983; Heinsler, Kleinman, and Stenross 1990).

My ethnographic fieldwork began with campus police in spring 2013. Nine full time officers, three sergeants, and four per-diem officers comprise the police force. Of these, I accompanied seven full time officers and two sergeants (three females and six males) on patrol over nine weeks. Before my first session of fieldwork with each participant, I received written, informed consent and agreed to leave the fieldwork if the officer believed my presence would compromise the safety of the officer, people with whom the officers interacted, or me. A total of twelve ride-alongs in cruisers occurred during the morning (8:00 a.m. - 4:00 p.m.), evening (4:00 p.m. -12:00 a.m.), and overnight (12:00 a.m. – 8:00 a.m.) shifts, with each session lasting for approximately one to two hours. In addition, I participated in a two-month long self-defense course for college women, co-taught by a female officer and a female health and wellness coordinator. Finally, I attended a safety and preparedness community discussion sponsored by campus police. In total, I completed twenty-eight hours of observations.

During this fieldwork, I wrote preliminary notes using my cell phone to remember key events. This approach minimized the intrusiveness of note taking by using brief moments of alone time to write. Returning from the field, I promptly converted my jottings into detailed field notes. In each entry, I recorded the date, duration of the session, the officer(s) I accompanied, and striking conversations with and between officers. Full field notes included observations of events as well as my personal reactions, insights, and preliminary analyses. From these preliminary analyses, several prominent themes became apparent. Analytic memo writing further clarified these themes and the connections between them (Glaser and Strauss 1967). The categories of danger, discretion, work tasks, and brotherhood, featured in this paper, are the products of using grounded theory methodology, emerging directly from the ethnographic data (Glaser and Strauss 1967).

A second research phase began in late May 2013, a month after my fieldwork ended. During this time, I developed a semi-structured interview schedule for in-depth interviews with officers, designed primarily to elicit detailed information about the four categories that emerged from the ethnography. To request interviews, I first contacted the twelve full time officers and sergeants as well as the Chief. One full time officer, who

participated in the fieldwork, left the force, so I contacted his replacement, a per-diem officer promoted to the full time position. In total, I completed interviews with three full time officers and the Chief (one female and three males). Two of these officers previously participated in the fieldwork while the Chief and the promoted per-diem officer were new to this study. The interviews lasted between 40 and 90 minutes and were audio-recorded and transcribed verbatim. Through writing analytic memos, I compared interview responses with the ethnographic data looking for similarities and differences related to the four categories. Although the total sample size (n= 11) is small, this study does not claim to be generalizable to other campus police departments. Rather, it examines in-depth the cultural production of identity and authenticity within this small group.

ANALYSIS

Officers derive a sense of honor from their ability to manage perceived threats to campus. The subjective concern with imminent danger grounds officers' claims to authenticity, allowing them to valorize their rational authority and expertise, pursue their specialized interests, and build in-group solidarity. Despite having to perform stigmatized service work, the belief in imminent danger reminds officers of their professional worth.

Danger

Municipal police cultures are characterized by the "paradox in policing," a phrase describing the incongruence between officers' preoccupation with danger and the statistical reality of infrequent danger within the workplace (Crank 2004: 158; Cullen et. al 1983). This paradox is not exclusive to cultures of municipal police, but is similarly prominent among campus police.

Under the federal Jeanne Clery Act[2], campus police departments are required to publish yearly statistics regarding campus crime. Figure One, excerpted from the College's annual Fire and Safety Report, displays reported on-campus criminal offenses:

Crime	2010	2011	2012
Murder/Non-Negligent Manslaughter	0	0	0
Negligent Manslaughter	0	0	0
Forcible Sex Offenses	6	3	6
Non-Forcible Sex Offenses	0	0	0
Robbery	0	0	0
Aggravated Assault	2	2	0
Burglary	13	9	1
Motor Vehicle Theft	0	1	0
Arson	0	0	1

Figure 1: On Campus Criminal Offenses Reported to Campus Police

Overall, serious crime at the college is low. Since 2010, six out of the nine crimes listed have remained at zero or declined. Two crimes have fluctuated with only forcible sex offenses increasing in 2012. Finally, one crime, arson, has slightly increased. Figure Two illustrates law violations on campus referred to the campus disciplinary board:

Violation	2010	2011	2012
Weapons Possession	3	0	2
Drug Law Violation	33	17	0
Liquor Law Violation	367	304	223

Figure 2: On Campus Law Violations Referred to Office of Student Conduct

Over the past three years, violations have decreased. Liquor law violations remain quite high; however, the college has historically struggled with excessive alcohol consumption by its students, so these numbers are not surprising. Weapons possession increased slightly in 2012, but remained below the 2010 mark. Taken together, the tables show that campus crime is relatively low and generally decreasing in a campus community of nearly 3,000 full time students. Also noteworthy is the absolute number and rates of crime are declining as enrollments are increasing. If the campus is relatively safe, as measured by incidences of crime, why do officers believe that danger is always looming?

The officers' authenticity as "real" police is dependent upon this perception of imminent danger. First, the officers possess specialized knowledge that allows them to manage threats against the community, such as a spill-over from the surrounding towns, a mass shooter, or actions by students and guests. Officer Capodilupo says, "We're trained to do what might happen and that's hard for some people to grasp." Although danger to campus is statistically infrequent, the potential for it to occur is what matters for officers. If officers cannot, on a daily basis, employ the skills learned in training, at least they can find honor in their work by preparing for "what might happen." Their investment in managing potential risk distinguishes them from other campus groups who fail to "grasp" the importance of thinking prospectively.

In addition to the potential harm to the community, officers believe their individual lives are in danger. Officer Laurita states, "I kiss my daughter goodbye and I put on my bulletproof vest. Who else goes to work with a bulletproof vest?" Like most workers, officers wish their loved ones goodbye before leaving home, but unlike most workers, their return is not guaranteed. As officers must daily wear a "bulletproof vest" to prevent a normal departure from becoming their last, they consider the possible danger they face a mark of distinction. Similarly, Officer Mason notes, "Who else goes to work thinking that they are going to get shot? There are some people who wake up and say, 'I'm going to kill a cop.'" Average workers rarely contemplate the possibility of being assassinated at work, but since officers feel this threat is eminently real, they view their group as unique.

While previous literature has acknowledged this sense of imminent danger in campus policing, no link between it and occupational prestige has been made (Bordner and Peterson 1983). I argue that officers' perception of danger allows them to create a sense of professional honor and purpose through discretion, work tasks, and brotherhood. The subjective prevalence of danger thus structures a professional milieu in which work can be infused with meaning.

Discretion

The danger that officers feel pervades their professional world is both an empirical fact and a social construction. When officers are called to a scene, they typically act as the primary adjudicators of danger by drawing boundaries around who and what is considered dangerous (Fine 2004). I broaden the officers' conception of "discretion" to understand how they use professional expertise in the identification of danger.

Police work often requires officers to make a series of decisions about the best way in which to manage a particular situation. This exercise of discretion is often approached holistically. Officer Laurita explains:

> A lot of good policing is really taking a step back, taking a deep breath, and just seeing, what's in front of you… look at everything and say, 'alright, how are we going to handle this, how have I handled things like this in the past, what does my training tell me to do, what does student conduct, what would they like to see happen in the situation'…So it's looking at the big picture and really making a good informed decision when you do decide to go forward with something or not.

To make "good informed" decisions, officers rely upon their expertise gained through trainings and work experience. Each officer has graduated from an accredited police academy, authority as "Special State Police Officers,[3]" and most have experience in law enforcement. Eight participants have worked in policing and two have experience in the State Department of Corrections. These elements guide and legitimize the use of discretion during all situations, most notably in potential moments of danger.

An experience with Officer Laurita illustrates how officers use their cultural "tools" to make "good informed" decisions (Swidler 2001:104). In April 2013, calls to campus police increased significantly after two homemade pressure cooker bombs, concealed in abandoned backpacks, exploded at the annual Boston Marathon. During one of these calls, Officer Laurita investigated a report of a device resembling a pressure cooker located on the roof of an academic building. Retelling the story, she noted her confusion regarding the location of the suspicious device. "The Winslow roof? There's no access up there," she exclaimed. She brought me to the building, pointing out that the device was actually located on a second floor balcony. After identifying the device as a miniature grill, her next challenge involved examining its contents. She explained, "I could have called in the bomb squad, but the grill was partially open and I could see that something had been cooked in it. It was a risk for me to open it because you can never be one hundred percent certain about anything." The process by which Officer Laurita decided to open the grill underscores how "cultured capacities" organize lines of action (Swidler 2001: 104-107). She used her

conception of "good police work," a careful examination of the situation, to inform her use of discretion. Although she noted her actions constituted a risk, the formal and informal skills she has developed to navigate danger helped her determine that the risk was minor.

Another site where officers use discretion is in their interactions with students. These interactions reveal the officers' primary understanding of discretion: the act of "giving a kid a break." Officers mention "giving a kid a break" to describe how, in certain moments, they forgo tickets and other sanctions or note any positive behaviors the student displayed in their reports to the Office of Student Conduct, the College's disciplinary body. Recalling Officer Laurita's approach to discretion, officers continue to rely on their training and past experience to decide whether a student deserves "a break," but they also consider the expectations of the Office of Student Conduct and the student's attitude toward the police. For example, Officer Grant says, "If the person is saying sorry, then I'll give them a break, but if you're a wiseass, then I'll give it back to you." Demonstrating deference to police authority is a key signal to officers that the student is worthy of a lesser punishment. Using discretion to define the nature of objects, behaviors, and situations not only allows officers to highlight their professional skills, but also gain respect for their authority.

Discretion is a complex process requiring officers to routinely and rapidly make a series of choices before finally deciding how to handle a range of emergent situations. Officers organize these lines of action around the formal and informal skills developed through trainings and past experiences to fit their understanding of "good police work" (Swidler 2001). Despite risk, their decisions feel right because they agree with the officers' cultural sensibilities. To the public, these decisions are legitimate because officers frame them within the context of their rational authority. With every use of discretion, re-drawn symbolic boundaries accentuate the officers' professional competence.

Work Tasks

Scholars argue that campus police officers are discontent with their work because of service tasks like locking buildings and writing parking tickets (Bordner and Peterson 1983; Heinsler, Kleinman, and Stenross 1990). Given their law enforcement training and previous experiences, Cedarville officers also view service work as incompatible with their police identity. Since these tasks are laden with the stigma of security work, officers consider them incommensurate with their professional qualifications. However, I find that Cedarville officers are able to manage their frustration with service work and pursue their specialized policing interests by taking advantage of the symbolic boundary between "front" and "back stage" (Goffman 1959: 106-107, 112; Lamont 2001).

Cedarville officers strongly dislike service work. Remembering a professor who called campus police from his home to ask that an officer check his office for his cell phone, Officer Mason says, "If you worked in the city and then came home and thought you left your cellphone at work, would you call the municipal police asking them to check your office? No." In Officer Mason's estimation, most people would not call the city police for this type of service because it does not constitute an emergency. Consequently, he expects the same rules to govern relations between campus police and the college community. Explaining the disjuncture between service work and her police role, Officer Laurita offers:

> I would say the hardest things for me just because of my background are the things that are more security in nature. I definitely I have a lot of training. I've worked places before here, so coming into a place where we do a lot of [long pause] I guess, the only way to coin it is security related tasks such as opening and closing buildings [smiles] flipping electrical circuits when somebody loses power. I understand it as it's part of the job…it was explained to us when we were hired, so it's not something that I'll regularly complain about because it's part of the job.

Officers enter into this occupation with "a lot of training" and previous law enforcement experience, so to be charged with performing unskilled "security related tasks such as opening and closing buildings [and] flipping electrical circuits" is incredibly frustrating.

Officially, service tasks are the primary responsibility of the two Community Service Officers (CSOs) and secondary duties for police officers. According to the Fire and Safety report, Community Service Officers "Serve the college community by securing campus buildings, reporting safety and maintenance problems, and monitoring the campus for suspicious people and activity." However, these unarmed, non-sworn personnel work from 6:00 p.m.-2:00 a.m., providing no help to the day shift officers who receive the most service calls. Although service tasks remain "part of the job," officers have found ways to create a more satisfying work experience. Using their time "behind the scenes," officers distance themselves from these tasks, privileging work better suited to their talents and interests.

Accepting their duty to respond to service calls does not preclude officers from "derogating the audience" backstage (Goffman 1959: 174). While the officers protest these tasks behind the scenes, they consciously create a "working consensus" in front of an audience in order to smoothly perform the job (Goffman 1959: 175). Officer Mason says, "I might be digging my eyes out with a plastic fork while I'm driving over to you, but you'll never know it!" Officers publicly obscure professional concerns over the propriety of service tasks, instead, assuming a cheery demeanor which they label, "warm and fuzzy,"

illustrated by an experience with Officer Mason. After the dispatcher alerted him that a residence director's husband forgot his keys, Officer Mason rolled his head back in exasperation and drove to the building. Waiting in the lobby for us was the husband and his two small children: a young girl and a toddler with dark, curly hair. As we filed down the hall toward the room, the toddler stared at Officer Mason who put his hand on the boy's head and said, "I used to have hair like that!" Officer Mason unlocked the door, initiated a bit of small talk, and wished them a good night. Walking through the building's exit, he said to me, "See? Warm and fuzzy!"

Officer Mason displayed no signs of frustration during the interaction as he affectionately acknowledged the toddler and chatted with the boy's father. Leaving the scene granted him permission to acknowledge the performance as simply an act to accomplish the job. Since "labels have power"(Fine 2004:27), I suggest that the act of naming the performance as "warm and fuzzy" is a strategy by which officers distance themselves from the security stereotype to retain their "true" police identity (Goffman 1959).

Another way for officers to secure their identity is to prioritize tasks that suit their personal interests and highlight their danger management skills. For example, Officer Hughes' specialty is traffic enforcement. He says, "I'm a traffic guy. If I'm pulling someone over, they [dispatch] can't get me for dumb stuff like unlocking a door." At 8:30, the start of the morning rush hour, he parks in his usual hiding spot: a grassy area, spotted with thin trees, overlooking the campus' primary intersection. While he understands that early mornings are hectic, he stops speeding drivers because their actions put others in danger. He jokes, "They can't take out Mom, Dad, and little Toto!" One morning, Officer Hughes and I observed a vehicle roll through a stop sign. He immediately flipped on the cruiser's blue lights and accelerated to catch up to the car. After pulling the driver over and giving her a warning, he declared to me: "This is police work!"

Officer Laurita has similarly created a policing centered niche for herself. In addition to regular patrol duties, she serves as the department's sexual assault investigator. However, her primary concern is preventing sexual assault which can be accomplished through proactive initiatives like community policing. She explains, "I've always been really big with community policing and that's something nice that you can do here." A benefit to working at a college is the support for community policing, whereas in towns, "it's definitely one of the programs that's cut first." One of Officer Laurita's projects includes co-instructing a women's self-defense course. Her community policing work is incredibly important because much of policing is reactive, that is, responding to emergency calls rather than stopping danger before it strikes. Creating spaces for safety education provides

her with job satisfaction and also allows her to make a significant contribution to the community.

Finally, Officers Wright and Grant serve as state certified firearms instructors, a position that allows them to train their colleagues in the proper use of a firearm. Although training for the entire department occurs once or twice a year, this certification is a noteworthy accomplishment for these young officers. Officer Wright, who is in his early 20s, explains:

> Which is a great thing to work for a college department because there are more opportunities for less people. Whereas if I work for a town, if that class came up, a guy that's been there for ten years would have taken it.

In campus policing, "there are more opportunities" for officers with less seniority to take advantage of unique programs that allow them to master new skills. Officer Wright says, "I take a lot of pride in staying sharp and this is a job [policing] where I know, if I do it for a long time, I'll stay sharp." While "staying sharp" fulfills Officer Wright's individual goal, it also benefits the department as a whole. Having firearms experts on staff is valuable, particularly for a department concerned about the potential for a mass shooting.

There is little doubt that campus police consider service work as "dirty work;" however, the officers do not let this work determine their professional identity[4] (Bordner and Peterson 1983; Heinsler, Kleinman, and Stenross 1990). By articulating their onstage behavior as "warm and fuzzy," but valorizing training and law enforcement powers, officers create symbolic distance from requisite, but stigmatizing, security tasks. Additionally, officers emphasize professional tasks connected with preparing for and preventing danger. From traffic enforcement to community policing and investigations to serving as firearms instructors, officers claim these tasks as their own in order to highlight their professional skills. As a result, stigmatized work is "part of the job," but not a part of their identity.

Brotherhood

In the broadest sense, brotherhood is a unity with and sense of loyalty to everyone who considers themselves a police officer (Crank 2004). This vision of brotherhood cuts across departmental, state, and international boundaries. At the same time, bonds of brotherhood work to create specific ties within shifts in the department. These temporally bonded brothers forge close bonds while they wait for and anticipate danger, reflected in their intimate knowledge of one another's routines. Despite the creation of sub-groups around shifts, the officers support each other unconditionally in moments of need, reflecting the overarching virtue of loyalty.

As a significant portion of police work involves waiting, officers fill time by interacting with their colleagues. Officer Laurita says, "You get a lot of downtime, too, where there's no calls. Not even just here, in towns, too…so there's a lot of camaraderie." In this close working environment, officers become attuned to each other's daily routines, evidenced most clearly by the interactions on the evening shift (4:00 p.m.-12:00 a.m.). Speaking about his Sergeant, Officer Blake says, "Everyday he comes in with his blue Nike bag. The only things in it are his Diet Coke and yogurt which he eats at 4:45." Adding to this description, Officer Mason says the Sergeant "claps his hands every time he's ready to eat." Officer Laurita describes this group as the "fun shift," a label reflective of this shift's notable humor. According to Officer Mason, jokes are a prominent component of police culture. He says, "If someone's not busting your balls, and they are just leaving you alone, it probably means they don't like you." Jokes are used not only to draw boundaries around friends, but also conceptions of "real" police work (Fine 2007). For example, Officer Blake and Officer Mason poke fun at Officer Jansen's obsession with reporting loose bricks along the campus walkways:

> Mason: She once hired a plane to look for all the loose bricks.
> Blake: She's going to get a cruiser with a camera underneath and mirrors along the bottom so that she can see if there are any loose bricks.

Searching for "loose bricks" does not warrant the use of elaborate equipment because the endeavor is a largely insignificant maintenance task. Through humor, the officers critique the undertones of a security mentality in Officer Jansen's policing style.

While shift work encourages officers to forge strong bonds with their immediate colleagues, officers ultimately share an overarching bond that obligates them to follow the maxim of being there for "one of your own" in times of need. Within and between departments, officers count on each other for support in a variety of situations. Officer Grant recalls a moment when he needed assistance removing eight guests off campus. After he repeatedly requested, "I need another car, I need another car," Officer Laurita and two town officers arrived to aid him. The response to this relatively mundane problem reaffirms Officer Grant's belief that if a serious emergency occurs, officers will receive help from their brothers.

Brotherhood also cuts across state and international boundaries. After a campus police officer was shot and killed by the Boston Marathon bombing suspect, Officers Grant and Hughes attended the funeral along with local town departments and the police from a nearby State University. Also in attendance were police from California, Florida, Quebec, and Ireland. Officer Wright adds:

> When an officer gets shot or injured, you know, anywhere in the country, if we hear about it, we share that, we mourn that, what happened. We see that that could be us. We see our face in their face. So that's why it bonds us to together, and we wear the same uniform, we train the same way, we [pause]. I can't really explain it. The thin blue line. It's real.

During times of tragedy and loss, officers see a mirror image of themselves in their fallen brother because they each "train the same way" and "wear the same uniform." The feeling of "that could be us" instead of their fellow brother profoundly resonates with officers and tightly links them together, creating a "thin blue line:" a critical symbolic boundary that divides the police into one group against civilians.

Although some conclude that campus policing is marked by an absence of brotherhood (Bordner and Peterson 1983), I argue that officers receive constant reaffirmation of their identity in a bounded brotherhood. While serious crime and actual danger is infrequent at Cedarville (see figures one and two), officers feel tied to one another because of their shared perception of their work as dangerous. Moreover, they "see" their image in the image of others who train, dress, and act like them, encouraging them to believe that harm done to one officer, whether campus or municipal, could potentially happen to any officer. Finally, as officers await danger, they produce cultural practices and values that structure continued interactions and delineate boundaries around proper visions of work (Fine 2007). While the close working environments make it likely that officers will develop stronger bonds with some and not others, the common understanding of their work as dangerous remains a unifying force.

CONCLUSION

In an occupation situated between law enforcement and security work, campus police officers face challenges to crafting an honorable work identity. Although these officers consider service tasks as "dirty work," examining the culture of this occupation reveals officers can re-invest their work with meaning (Heinsler, Kleinman, and Stenross 1990: 236). The officers' shared belief in imminent danger allows them to build original, and appropriate existing, symbolic boundaries to demonstrate their expertise using discretion, perform specialized work tasks, and establish group solidarity within a brotherhood.

In addition, my analysis suggests that within this particular small group, culture shapes conceptions of proper work, reflecting the findings of Gary Alan Fine in his ethnography of meteorologists (Fine 2007). For example, the value of loyalty guides

proper relations between workers, formal and informal skills help officers make "good informed decisions," and finally, humor is used to make statements about how to approach work tasks.

Future research should consider how the theme of perceived danger may connect to additional categories of a campus policing identity. For example, Cedarville officers noted that faculty, staff, and students often misunderstood the officers' role on campus, failing to recognize the importance of preparing for danger. Speaking of interactions with staff, Officer Laurita says:

> I've had comments made to me like, "Oh, have a good summer!"… I think they don't really understand that we're fully staffed 24/7… We don't get summer breaks, we don't get spring breaks,[slight laugh] we don't get Easter weekend off, we're here at two in the morning on Christmas Eve. We're here all the time, making sure this community is safe.

Since staff follow a traditional academic calendar, they assume every campus group organizes work around the same schedule. However, this group tends to forget that the possibility for danger still exists on vacations and holidays. A new study may explore the symbolic boundaries officers draw as they interpret their interactions with other campus groups and cope with and respond to a lack of outside recognition for their honorable work.

While this study has provided an in-depth exploration of campus police culture at a private college in the Northeast, the small sample size prohibits confident generalizability to other campus police departments. Since previous research has addressed large, Southern, public universities, I recommend an investigation of colleges and universities, public or private, outside of the South to test my findings as well as to uncover other salient dimensions of a policing identity (Bordner and Peterson 1983; Heinsler, Kleinman, and Stenross 1990). The importance of local cultures in shaping collective identities may also be further clarified through a comparative study of campus police departments, paying particular attention to not only how these groups are similar, but what types of local cultural elements may explain their distinctiveness. With any attempt to address questions regarding identity, a conscious effort to unpack the cultural dimensions of work is advised.

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[1] To be sure, the "crime fighting" image also fails to accurately represent municipal policing work. Bayley (1994), characterizes the crime municipal patrol officers frequently encounter as "trivial," including "minor shoplifting, disturbing the peace, [and] vandalism" (18). Municipal officers also answer service calls (Bayley 1994). While many commonalities may exist between municipal and campus police, a systematic comparison is beyond the scope of this study.

[2] The Jeanne Clery Disclosure of Campus Security and Policy and Campus Crime Statistics Act (1991) mandates higher education institutions "to disclose their security policies, keep a public crime log, publish an annual crime report, and provide timely warnings to students and campus employees about a crime posing an immediate or ongoing threat to students and campus employees" (Clery Center for Security on Campus 2012).

[3] State law invests campus police with full law enforcement authority, including the power to arrest.

[4] Officers in Bordner and Peterson's (1983) study aligned their image with "police" because of training and law enforcement powers, but ultimately believe they are a hybrid of security and police with less prestige than "real" police officers.

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"People Realize It's a Global Struggle:" A Socio-Geographical Study of United Students Against Sweatshops' International Solidarity Campaigns

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United Students Against Sweatshops (USAS)' international solidarity campaigns have continually won victories for working people around the world. However, as Rebecca Johns (1998) points out, international solidarity is inherently problematic; spatial interests originating from the uneven development of capitalism often conflict with workers' universal class interests. Participants engaged in this type of activism must continually mediate these conflicting interests. Previous literature has had difficulty understanding both USAS'ers' motivations for engaging in this type of activism and why the organization has been so successful. Using semi-structured interviews of USAS leaders, this research explores the question: "How do USAS leaders' framing of international solidarity influence the ways by which they seek to alter the uneven development of capitalism?" This research takes an interdisciplinary approach, combining the framing perspective of social movement scholarship with the theory of labor geography, in an effort to understand how frames translate directly into geographical strategy, thus furthering a socio-geographical understanding of social movements. Results show that USAS'ers' framing of solidarity transcends both spatial and class interests. Moreover, this research demonstrates how understudied USAS tactics, such as worker tours and conferences, connect struggles geographically, successfully working to transform the framing of solidarity for all participants involved.

On November 17, 2009, Russell Athletic announced it would rehire 1,200 Honduran workers who were illegally fired for union activity. Prior to unionization, *Jerzees de Honduras*, Russell's main factory in Honduras, boasted some of the worst working

conditions in Central America, with workers earning a mere $1.50 per hour (Bonoir 2009). Largely due to United Students Against Sweatshops (USAS) activism, workers were not only rehired but were granted representation by their own union, *SITRAJERZEESH*. Student organizers affiliated with United Students Against Sweatshops had mobilized all around the country, forcing 96 universities to cut their apparel contracts with Russell Athletic –a loss of over one million dollars for the company (Greenhouse 2009). The Russell campaign is just one example of USAS activists using their unique position as students to stand in solidarity with workers. With chapters at over 180 universities, USAS has demonstrated its ability to capitalize on students' relationships to university structures, through their unique model of "contract cut" campaigns (USAS 2005). The actions of USAS fit into a larger movement aimed at addressing the uneven development of capitalism globally.

United Students Against Sweatshops is a byproduct of the labor movement. The Union of Needletrades, Industrial, and Textile Employees (UNITE) played a key role in not only publicizing the use of sweatshops by U.S. apparel giants, but also in mobilizing students around these issues. In the summer of 1997, interns at UNITE created the "Sweat-Free Campus" campaign, a movement to end university contracts with sweatshop manufacturers (USAS 2005). This idea was soon spread to other student activists at the American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO) Union Summer, a program created a year earlier by newly elected AFL-CIO president John Sweeney. This program brought together 800 students from around the country to take part in three-week internship programs with various unions throughout the United States (Silverstein & Rosenblatt 1996). The following school year, past Union Summer participants from two universities, Duke and Brown, successfully convinced their administrations to adopt a code of conduct for their universities' apparel manufacturers. These students went on to form United Students Against Sweatshops (Featherstone 2002).

While USAS owes much of its existence to the US labor movement; US labor has had a notoriously mixed record in regard to international solidarity. In particular, US labor leaders have been tied to imperialist policies which have aimed to undermine democratic governance; Kim Scipes (2010) writes:

> Labor's foreign policy leaders have worked to help overthrow democratically elected governments, have collaborated with reactionary, pro-dictator labor movements against progressive labor movements, and have supported reactionary labor movements against progressive governments. (P. 466)

George Meany, AFL-CIO president from 1955-1979, supported numerous dictatorial pro-capitalist regimes, namely: "South Korea (after 1948), the Shah of Iran (after 1953),

Guatemala (after 1954), Brazil (after 1964), Suharto of Indonesia (after 1965), Marcos in the Philippines (after 1972), and Pinochet in Chile (after 1973)" (Scipes 2010: 471). Moreover, the labor movement engaged in activities which sought to undermined democratically elected governments in "Guatemala (1954), Brazil (1964), and Chile (1973)" (Scipes 2010: 472). Much of the same policies continued under Lane Kirkland, president of the AFL-CIO from 1979-1995 (Scipes 2010). Therefore, USAS occupies an interesting position in that they center their organization around solidarity campaigns, yet are an outgrowth of a movement that has often actively opposed democratic collaboration with international allies. It is uncovering how USAS effectively engages with this history that is of interest.

USAS campaigns often utilize a variety of tactics that build solidarity with workers around the world; in the words of Altha Cravey (2004), USAS campaigns, "create new geographies of globalization 'from below'" (p. 204). Therefore, this study aims to explore how USAS leaders' framing of international solidarity influences the ways by which they seek to alter the uneven development of capitalism. By exploring this research question I will not only bring clarity to the problematic research surrounding the organization, but I will further develop a socio-geographical understanding of international solidarity movements.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Solidarity Movements and Labor Geography

The work of Andrew Herod (2003), coined "labor geography," informs the basis of this study. This work is spawned from the neo-Marxist geographical tradition, which challenges assumptions that space is inherently ontological, arguing instead that "space and society are dialectically linked, that the one, in fact, cannot exist without the other" (Herod 2003: 114). Herod expands upon this theoretical foundation, arguing that past neo-Marxists have seen capitalists as the sole actors in the creation of space and have thus neglected the proactive role that the working class plays in constructing these geographies. At its most basic, labor geography centers upon the idea that "workers make their own geographies though not under the conditions of their own choosing" (Herod 2003: 132). As a result, worker's rights organizing is seen not only as a process motivated by a class interest but also a spatial interest.

While Herod's argument can clearly be applied to a single location, he also argues that globalization has increased the importance of a spatial understanding of labor power, as globalization does not diminish the power of workers, but instead opens up new potentials by which to alter uneven development. Herod (2003) writes:

> Labor solidarity can bring workers together across space such that their geographical separation no longer conceals the oppression of one group of workers from the eyes of others. Whatever else it may be, international solidarity spawned as a response to globalization, then, is an explicit attempt to bridge space so that the interests of one group of workers can be brought to the attention of (and supported by) workers in other parts of the global-space economy. (P. 127)

According to Herod (2003), many of the struggles between capital and the workers are not concerned solely with "the production and extraction of surplus value in the workplace," but instead "the production of material landscapes and of the geographical relationship of different places therein" (p. 117). This further developed concept of class struggle will inform my study.

Accommodationist Versus Transformatory Solidarity

In Rebecca Johns' (1998) *Bridging the Gap between Class and Space: US Worker Solidarity in Guatemala*, Johns directly applies this dualistic view of class struggle to international solidarity movements. She argues that while workers in the developed world may feel a sense of connection to workers in the developing world due to their acknowledgment of a mutual class interest, this feeling of connection may come into conflict with their spatial interest, which arises out of "their location within capitalism's spatial matrix" (Johns 1998: 253). Johns (1998) explains that the process of uneven development leads to "hierarchies of place," where certain geographical areas are privy to higher levels of "capital investment, job security and decent wages" (p. 254). This hierarchy of place then facilitates the creation of a "hierarchy of labor" where certain groups enjoy a privileged position over others (Johns 1998: 254). Building an international solidarity movement becomes problematic because of this spatial conflict. She explains:

> The conflict between space and class arises because workers in capitalism's areas of global development have come to expect a standard of living that accompanies their place in the spatial structures of uneven development. Preserving the standard of living means preserving the old borders between development and underdevelopment (Johns 1998: 255).

In an attempt to capture the myriad of ways solidarity movements can express themselves due to these conflicting interests, Johns (1998) creates the dichotomy of accommodationist

vs. transformatory solidarity. The key differentiation between accommodationist and transformatory solidarity is their approach toward uneven development. Accommodationist solidarity "perpetuate[s] the uneven terrain of capital investment that is the hallmark of uneven development," while transformatory solidarity "[prevents] capital's wanton production of space, its creation and perpetuation of uneven development" (Johns 1998: 256).

Albeit underdeveloped, Johns (1998) attempts to bridge the gap between geography and sociology by pointing to issues of identity as determining factors in whether class or spatial interests are given precedence within solidarity movements. She writes: "How workers respond […] depends on the interplay among conflicting identities and interests" (Johns 1998: 255). It is my intention to further develop the concepts of identity and interests–particularly how they relate to frames—within geographical studies of international solidarity. While Johns and Herod seem to argue that workers' interests are predetermined by the structure of global capitalism, social movement scholars have continually pointed to identities and frames as highly malleable elements of social movements.

The Framing Perspective of Social Movement Scholarship

My research is heavily indebted to the framing perspective of social movements. This tradition studies collective action frames, which are "action-oriented sets of beliefs and meanings that inspire and legitimate the activities and campaigns of a social movement organization" (Benford and Snow 2000: 614). Benford and Snow (2000) explain the perspective, stating:

> Social movements are not viewed merely as carriers of extant ideas and meanings that grow automatically out of structural arrangements, unanticipated events, or existing ideologies. Rather, movement actors are viewed as signifying agents actively engaged in the production and maintenance of meaning for constituents, antagonists, and bystanders or observers. (P. 613)

Therefore, framing elaborates on Johns' idea (1998: 255) that "identities and interests" play a critical role in solidarity movements. By combining these two perspectives, one gains an understanding of the importance of struggles regarding "the production of material landscapes and of the geographical relationship of different places therein" (Herod 2003: 117). It is only through analyzing how geographical struggles influence the identities and understandings of workers that one can understand the importance of labor geography from a sociological perspective.

LITERATURE REVIEW

The existing literature on USAS can be summarized into two key themes: research exploring activists' motivations and research analyzing the effectiveness of USAS strategies. Additionally, there is a wealth of information written about the organization from a journalistic perspective, which describes the history of the organization and provides interesting threads to be further explored. This study will explore threads from all three areas of USAS research, in an effort to explore the interplay between frames and geographical strategy. This study will focus specifically on the framing of solidarity; as USAS is primarily a solidarity organization and no studies have been completed to date on USAS'ers' conceptions of solidarity, this study will fill a key gap in the literature.

Liza Featherstone's Students Against Sweatshops

The seminal text written on USAS is Liza Featherstones' (2002) *Students Against Sweatshops.* Featherstone, a journalist, avoids sociologically analyzing USAS and thus the piece reads as a concise history of the organization's first six years. The most fruitful elements of *Students Against Sweatshops* are excerpts written by USAS activists themselves.

One of the most pertinent themes, articulated within Featherstone's book, is the explicit stance against protectionism continually stressed by activists. One activist writes:

> It has become clear to many labor activists over the past decade that protectionism in the garment industry, one of the most mobile forms of capital, is not going to end sweatshops, not in Los Angeles and not in Cambodia (Featherstone 2002:17).

Another activist describes her discontent when the Union of Needletrades, Industrial and Textile Employees (UNITE) presented the organization with an award for "helping [UNITE] in our struggle against imports". She writes: "Since USAS goes out of its way not to take protectionist positions, that really stunk" (Featherstone 2002:17). Tied to these anti-protectionist sentiments, activists also stressed the universal interests of the working class; one USAS'er writes: "Everyone wants to be able to take care of themselves and their family. Everybody wants to retire and feel good, enjoy life. Breathe. Live. Eat. You know, the regular shit" (Featherstone 2002:39). These sentiments are of particular interest to my study; it is precisely these beliefs and how they influence organizational strategy that I intend to explore.

Literature Exploring Activists' Motivations

Research exploring USAS'ers' motivations varies significantly and is often contradictory. Most of the difficulty in the literature stems from an inability to understand the depth of USAS' critique –while some authors believe that students engage in solidarity to feel good, others believe their motivations come from a critique of the university system, or even capitalism as a whole. Van Dyke, Dixon & Carlon (2007) argue that USAS participants do not benefit directly from anti-sweatshop activism and therefore can be considered "conscience constituents or adherents" (p.198). The authors provide only one qualification of this statement, hypothesizing that working class students may feel a sense of solidarity with exploited workers as they, themselves, work through college. Van Dyke et al.'s (2007) statements are problematic because they address the issue of working class students as a passing thought, failing to fully analyze how a working class consciousness could directly affect how USAS members conceive of their activism. Furthermore, Barnhardt (2012) argues that Van Dyke et al. hold too narrow of a view of social motivation, instead arguing that "[the benefits students] seek to obtain is a type of truth in advertising that universities must fulfill" (p. 25). Thus, according to Barnhardt (2012), USAS'ers are seeking to call into question the moral contradictions within their schools' operations. Interestingly, both of these arguments still center around a moralistic view of activism; both seem to depoliticize the organization, equating it more to a charity than an activist group.

A published transcript of an interview conducted by Kitty Krupat (2002) re-politicizes the organization and provides interesting insight into how USAS'ers, themselves, explain their motivations. Throughout the interview, USAS'ers speak of the organization as a way by which to fight uneven power dynamics between capital and the working class. One student writes:

> People are asking fundamentally—who gets to make decisions in all spheres of life, whether it's in the home, at work, in the community, or in government. The answer is a small group of very rich and connected people, who, more often than not, by virtue of racism, sexism, and homophobia, are straight, white men. I personally want to challenge that system of decision-making and introduce democratic decision-making that empowers all people at work, home, and in government regardless of race, class, gender or sexuality (Krupat 2002:115).

Krupat's study provides interesting insights into how USAS'ers frame their activism as tied to issues that transcend the workplace. I intend to explore this all-encompassing framing of activism within my own research.

Kelly and Lefkowitz (2003) have a more radical understanding of USAS' mission and argue that USAS espouses a radical ideology which "challenges the logic of capital" (p. 84). The authors state that "student opposition to sweatshops seeks to overcome commodity fetishism and alienation, to relate to the producers of the clothes they buy as people rather than things" (Kelly & Lefkowitz 2003:85). Rachel Silvey (2004) takes a similar stance as Kelly and Lefkowtiz (2003), albeit not labeling the group "radical," she stresses that students have critically examined their relation to the production of goods. She writes, "Student activists have come to denaturalize their own consumption patterns and desires, problematizing their relationships to the products they consume and the workers who produce them" (Silvey 2004:2).

The current research concerning USAS members' motivations brings up numerous hypotheses to be further explored. Most relevant to this study is the disagreement in the literature regarding how USAS'ers engage with and understand the capitalist system. This study will address this question by applying framing theory, as frames often serve as reference points by which activists understand events and structures, such as capitalism. As Benford and Snow (2000) explain, "Frames help to render events or occurrences meaningful and thereby function to organize experience and guide action" (p. 614). Therefore, not only will a framing analysis bring some clarity to the disagreement within the literature, it will also illustrate how this translates into strategy.

Literature Analyzing USAS Strategies

Research also tends to be torn on the issue of USAS' effectiveness. Silvey (2004) seems to regard USAS' strategy with high esteem, arguing that USAS members have:

> Participated in constructing distinct 'counter topographies' of alliance and protest that offer, at the very least, the possibility of countering the ways that the maneuvers of globalized capitalism exacerbate and build upon gendered, racialized, nationalist, and class axes of oppression and inequality in different historical geographies. (P. 3)

Cravey also (2004) shares an overall positive view of USAS' work, arguing:

> The evolving spatial strategies of campus-based anti-sweatshop activists bridge the gulf between volatile geographies of production in the Global South and consumption oriented networks of the Global North. In forming alliance with garment workers, and other allies, these student activists create new geographies of globalization 'from below'. (P. 204)

In contrast to Cravey, James Heintz (2004) argues that the strategy employed by USAS is too micro-focused. Heintz argues that those working under sweatshop conditions don't simply need better jobs, but also more sustainable development initiatives. He writes:

> The lack of attention to the need to provide more job opportunities in poor countries has frequently been a short-coming of the anti-sweatshop movement. The focus is almost exclusively on wages and working conditions. However, this narrow focus can backfire. Efforts to improve labor standards can have unintended consequences if retailers and multinational brand-name corporations simply source from different suppliers with lower labor costs. One effect of implementing better standards can be a loss of much-needed employment opportunities (Heintz 2004: 224).

Heintz (2004), coming from an International Development background, offers an interesting criticism which merits deeper exploration that space here does not allow. However, Heintz's criticism does not in any way disqualify Cravey's assertion that USAS creates new geographies of capitalism. Therefore, it is the aim of this paper to not only explore how USAS creates these "new geographies 'from below,'" but also to illuminate why these strategies are important and how they affect the uneven development of capitalism. By integrating framing theory into the geographical perspective this study will illuminate how geographical strategies can facilitate the reframing of international solidarity in a way that can fundamentally alter the uneven development of capitalism.

METHODOLOGY

I came to study USAS from personal experience, as I was a member of the American University chapter while conducting this research. To secure interviews I contacted a close friend, whom, at the time, was a member of the USAS national leadership team. After securing a contact list of all the national leaders of the past three years from this individual, I contacted these leaders via email hoping to secure interviews, as well a snowball sample of other potential participants. I constructed an interview guide modeled on Johns' (1998) theory of accommodationist vs. transformatory solidarity in an effort to steer my participants to speak on topics related to solidarity, strategy, and the uneven development of capitalism.

My sample population consisted of five current and recent USAS leaders. I classified a current leader as any student who at the time of the interview held a position on the National Leadership Team. The USAS National Leadership team has five divisions: the

National Student Coordinating Committee, the National Organizers, the Regional Organizers, the Collective Liberation Caucus Co-Chairs, and the Worker Rights Consortium Board Representatives. My classification for recent leaders was any person who held one of the aforementioned positions in the last ten years. While USAS is a relatively new organization, founded in 1997, I chose to limit my study to leaders in the last ten years to avoid addressing issues which were too far past to significantly affect current USAS strategy, particularly because rhetoric around globalization has shifted significantly in the past decade.

All interviews lasted 45 minutes – one and a half hours, depending upon the level of detail provided by participants. Interviews were conducted in one of two ways: in person or via Skype. The same interview guide was used for both methods of data collection and the interviews followed an identical progression. Both methods of data collection were tape recorded to ensure a greater interaction between the researcher and the participant. Consent was obtained before taping the interview and confidentiality was guaranteed.

In addition to conducting interviews, I supplemented my findings using video content from USAS' Youtube channel "stopsweatshops," as well as from their website "Usas.org."

Ethical Concerns

The ethical treatment of participants was treated with the utmost importance within this study. Admittedly, I came into this study with a bias, as I was a member of a USAS chapter and continually hold a strong moral belief in their mission. Therefore, my bias was communicated to participants in advance of the study and was carefully examined throughout the data collection/analysis process.

Another concern within my research was confidentiality. Therefore, I gained consent of all participants before conducting interviews. To obtain consent I used a standard consent form provided by the American University Institutional Review Board and edited the form to specifically address my study. Before conducting interviews in person, I allowed the participants sufficient time to read over the consent form, ask any questions and then decide to consent or not consent to participation. When conducting online interviews, I emailed the consent form to the participant prior to contacting them via Skype, encouraging them to email me any questions. All participants then provided oral consent upon reviewing the consent form.

Limitations

The sample size of this study is its main limitation. I was able to interview five USAS leaders, which was far fewer than I had originally hoped. Moreover, my use of snowball sampling ensured that I did not interview a random sample of my population, meaning that this study cannot be generalized to the entire USAS leadership structure. However, it must be stressed that this study is not intended to create generalizable knowledge about USAS, or anti-sweatshop activism as a whole, but instead demonstrate the utility of a socio-geographical approach to the study of social movements.

FINDINGS

USAS'ers Frame International Solidarity Using an Elaborated Frame Which Connects Various Struggles

Throughout my interviews, USAS'ers continually stated that solidarity was connected to the idea of mutual empowerment. One student stated:

> [Solidarity] has to do with this idea of mutual empowerment, so it's not one person helping another person and […] reaching their hand downward to them, it's really reaching across the table and saying, 'we are going to support each other because our campaigns are interconnected, our liberation is interconnected.'

Another student stated that solidarity was about recognition of a "mutual interest" and the "expectation and acknowledgment, […] that you're not going to be able to get what you need to be happy and healthy without others getting it too." This point is of particular importance in that it provides clarity as to how USAS'ers understand solidarity campaigns; USAS'ers frame workplace struggles as connected to struggles against other forms of exploitation. Three students explicitly articulated this point. One stated:

> The workplace is where lots of other changes get made, […] where you can [affect] other things like how different genders are treated, the way other classes of folks are treated, power dynamics in general."

Another stated:

> I definitely don't identify as working class but I had a realization in high school that different oppressions were interconnected even though I didn't have words for it. […] I think in college, being a part of USAS made me realize that the labor movement was a very strategic place [for fighting] oppression that affects working class people and everyone too.

This connection of struggles is an example of frame bridging: "the linking of two or more ideologically congruent but structurally unconnected frames regarding a particular issue or problem" (Benford and Snow 2000: 624). Frame bridging is a "deliberative, utilitarian, and goal directed process," "deployed to achieve a specific purpose to recruit new members, to mobilize adherents, to acquire resources, and so forth" (Benford and Snow 2000: 624). As a result, USAS demonstrates a more elaborative framing of solidarity than other groups, such as US labor unions, who may see solidarity tied solely to a class interest. Benford and Snow (1992: 140) explain: "Being more syntactically flexible and lexically universalistic than the restricted frame, the elaborated […] frame allows for numerous aggrieved groups to tap it and elaborate their grievances in terms of its basic problem-solving schema." That being said, it is not surprising that this sentiment of interconnected struggles seemed to transcend class; both working class and professional class respondents connected labor struggles to change outside of the workplace. While a class-based message would perhaps discourage involvement by upper class students, the frame USAS operates out of makes their message more universal. This is not to diminish the role that collective liberation plays within the organization. The personal transformation and pride developed by USAS'ers, regardless of class, race, gender, or sexuality is truly real to their members, regardless of how this all-encompassing message works toward the goal of recruiting. This point brings some clarity to the previous literature which attempted to examine USAS'ers' motivations. Van Dyke, Dixon & Carlon's (2007:198) argument that USAS'ers are simply "conscience constituencies" and thus have nothing to materially gain from activism, is called into question by these findings. That being said, these participants share quite similar sentiments to those interviewed by Krupat in 2002. According to my participants, USAS'ers engage in international solidarity because they see these struggles as tied to their own fate; by engaging in activism, USAS'ers believe they are working toward a world that is free of all types of oppression.

This idea of solidarity being tied to interests that transcend class is of particular interest when applying the theoretical framework of accommodationist vs. transformatory solidarity (Johns 1998). USAS'ers' conceptions of solidarity prove that a simple dichotomy

of class vs. spatial interest does not capture the wide range of interests which can influence solidarity movements. That is not to say that labor geography is not a useful analytical paradigm. However, I believe that by merging this paradigm with the framing perspective, one gains a deeper understanding of international solidarity movements. Social movement scholars centered in the framing perspective have continually argued that social movements do not simply grow out of existing structures, such as capitalism, but instead are actively shaped by human actors and their varying interests. When one expands the pool of possible interests influencing solidarity movements, one is able to understand how the spatial interests arising out the uneven development of capitalism can be mediated.

USAS'ers Aim to Connect Struggles Separated Geographically

Four out of five participants spoke about the role of worker tours, USAS conferences, and international internship programs as key elements of USAS campaigns. These three tactics relate to each other in that they all connect struggles geographically and work to reframe workplace issues within a more elaborated frame, which recognizes various struggles as interconnected. One student explicitly expressed this point, stating: "During conferences when you've got workers from campuses speaking to workers from Indonesia and workers from Honduras, there are connections being made, […] people realize that it is a global struggle." Another student echoed this point, stating:

> We've been able to connect different struggles in different places which are separated geographically […] so at the conference we bring together workers from different parts of the world –like there were workers from Indonesia, who met a worker from Miami, who met a worker from Honduras [...] then there was a farm worker from Immokalee, and that type of thing isn't going to happen any place in the world besides a USAS conference and that's pretty incredible. That's the kind of thing we do.

Students clearly held their conferences in high esteem and saw them as a key part of their campaigns; by bringing together workers who were formerly separated geographically, USAS'ers believe workers are able to reach an understanding that they share the same struggle, regardless of their geographical position. Altha Cravey's (2004) assertion that USAS creates "new geographies of globalization 'from below'" is validated in exploring the key role that tactics, such as conferences, play in connecting both workers and students (p.204).

In much the same way, worker tours, where USAS helps bring workers from the developing world to the US to share their story with US union leaders, civil society groups, and students, are seen as a key component of USAS strategy. Importantly, these worker tours are seen as ways by which student activists can get direct input from workers about the issues most important to them, thus facilitating the type of participatory solidarity expressed as key to the organization's mission. One student stated: "I think that when workers can have a voice they should have a voice and it's difficult when workers are in Latin America and Asia and that's why worker tours are really important." Another student saw USAS' most recent worker tour featuring workers from PT Kizone, Indonesia –the site of USAS' most recent campaign against Adidas—as a means to inspire the workers and give them ideas for new strategies they could pursue when returning to Indonesia. They stated: "I think [this worker tour is] going to be a major help for their campaign […] because they're inspired and they have ideas now to go back and do what they can do with the union there."

While USAS'ers are critical of the US labor movement's past protectionist stance toward international solidarity, they also believe their campaigns are moving the US labor movement toward a more elaborated frame of international solidarity. One student stated that by engaging with workers in the developing world, the labor movement was being moved "toward a conception of real solidarity." What USAS aims to facilitate is frame transformation: "changing old understandings and meanings and/or generating new ones" (Snow and Benford 2000: 625). USAS aims to move the US labor movement from its past protectionist policies toward an understanding that all struggles are interconnected. Therefore, USAS actively fights protectionism, instead framing the interests of workers in the developing world and workers in the US as connected. When asked: "Do you believe that the working class in the US has the same interests as the working class in the developing nations?", three participants stated that working class interests domestically and abroad were interconnected. The remaining two students, both of whom identified as professional class, felt that they couldn't speak to the interests of the working class. Regardless, one student tied these overlapping interests to the capitalist system, stating:

> Their interests I think are the same. I think there is a structure, which is capitalism, […] there are people who control capital, to take a Marxist approach, and then there are the people who work and utilize their personal human capital. The people who own capital gain surplus from that and don't give [the workers] their rightful due. […] I think people in the world, in the US, abroad, get fucked over by

> corporations. That isn't to say though that working class people in the United States and working class people […] in the developing nations are looking for the same things. [...] There are just different bread and butter issues that people are working on. I think that all together it's the same. […] When people are engaged in struggle, I think it's the same.

It is from this recognition of a global working class interest that USAS'ers understand the importance of connecting struggles geographically and work to facilitate conversations between workers that will reframe global solidarity and foster cooperation.

The optimism demonstrated by USAS'ers toward affecting the framing of solidarity is generally supported by social movement literature. Benford and Snow (2000: 628) write: "Collective action frames are not static, refined entities but are continuously being constituted, contested, reproduced, transformed, and/or replaced during the course of social movement activity." By facilitating discussions between workers, both in the developing and developed world, USAS'ers are successfully reframing the issue of international solidarity. For example, Rosa, a Central American garment worker described her struggle against her employer during an international USAS delegation by stating: "It's not just that only because the boss gives you a pat on the back or a couple cents more that they use the workers to go against their own kind. So we beat one another. While the guy above is dying of laughter watching us beat one another" (United Students Against Sweatshops 2012). Rosa then nodded her head in agreement, continually stating *sí*, when "Adidas, Nike, Russell, Champion, [and] Hanes" were implicated as the "guy above" (United Students Against Sweatshops 2012). The same successes can be identified in the US labor movement. One USAS'er described the gradual change of a participating union in their conferences over the years by stating:

> They used to want to say all this protectionist, like kind of chauvinistic, [..] 'keep the [...] good union jobs in America.' And we were like, 'no that's not really our thing, [...], you can't do that.' […] I think that the labor movement is realizing that they're not going to be able to reverse the effects of globalization just by bitching and moaning about it like that.

Francesca Polleta's work regarding free spaces and network overlap also gives credence to USAS'ers' beliefs that conferences facilitate changes in the framing of international solidarity. USAS conference spaces represent what Polletta (1999: 11) calls "prefigurative spaces," which are "explicitly political and oppositional [and] are formed in order to prefigure the society the movement is seeking to build by modeling relationships that differ

from those characterizing mainstream society." These are spaces where international solidarity and collective liberation are explicitly practiced. However, it is not simply the existence of this space that facilitates frame transformation, instead it is the intersection of activist networks –weak ties—that facilitate political change. Polletta (1999) writes:

> Network intersections are critical to generating mobilizing identities, not just because weak-tied individuals provide access to previously unavailable material and informational resources, but because their social distance endows them with the authority to contest existing relations of status and deference among the aggrieved population. (P. 2)

The earlier example of USAS prohibiting participating unions from using "chauvinistic" and "protectionist" language serves as an example of how the prefigurative space of the conference, explicitly organized against concepts such as chauvinism and protectionism, allow USAS to exercise their weak ties to challenge the frames put forth by the American labor movement.

Throughout my interviews, USAS'ers continually stressed the organizations' willingness to criticize and challenge the labor movement, particularly regarding protectionism. When asked about their opinion on labors' past ties to political violence, one USAS'er stated:

> I'd say that [labor] is not perfect. Even today union leaders are not perfect. And they should be criticized as an institution always. Just because they are this sort of progressive institution doesn't mean they can't be touched and you can't criticize them negatively.

Thus it is reasonable to assume that USAS'ers have challenged unionists in the past, particularly when they have agreed to partake in the rituals and rules of the prefigurative space of a USAS conference.

At their most basic, USAS conferences are significant in that they bring together workers from around the world for open discussion and debate regarding issues of international solidarity. However, these conferences are important in a more subjective way; by facilitating these open discussions within the prefigurative space of a USAS conference, the workers involved are being moved toward a more elaborated framing of solidarity. It is this transformation that makes "new geographies of globalization 'from below'" significant (Cravey 2004: 204).

CONCLUSION

By combining labor geography with the framing perspective, this study has developed a deeper understanding of how USAS leaders frame international solidarity and how their strategies are effectively spreading this frame to workers, both domestically and abroad. Theoretically, this study is important for two reasons. First, it demonstrates the effectiveness of framing as a means by which to create social change. Second, this study furthers a socio-geographical understanding of social movements and it calls into question the exclusive focus on capitalist structure by labor geographers. By incorporating more of the sociological tradition, particularly framing theory, labor geographers will gain a deeper understanding of how activists understand their own work and ways by which the capitalist structure can be altered. At its core, labor geography is a paradigm based in the insistence that workers collectively can alter structure. However, without a deeper examination of micro-level processes, labor geography risks entirely omitting workers' influence in social movements.

Recommendations for Future Research

This study has introduced an understanding of the socio-geographical element of USAS strategy, which has been almost entirely overlooked within the academic literature. However, further exploration of these strategies and their effects are surely needed. In particular, further research should be conducted on how worker tours and conferences affect workers' identities, both domestically and abroad. Interviews with workers and union officials will give further credence to my findings that geographical strategies can work to reframe international solidarity.

While this study has begun to bridge the intellectual gap between the disciplines of sociology and geography, further research can surely be done to gain a deeper socio-geographical understanding of international solidarity. While this study began to move beyond the dichotomy of class vs. spatial interest, it is my hope that further research can begin to uncover the myriad of ways partaking in international solidarity can transform the identity of participants. This knowledge is not only important from a sociological point of view, but from a geographical perspective as well. It is only from further probing this transformation that we grasp the importance of geographical strategies, as it is only with knowing how the construction of new geographies of capitalism transform peoples' lives that we begin to truly understand their importance.

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The Role of Home Language in the Development of Intergroup Attitudes

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In the current study, the following research questions are addressed: (a) What is the relationship between bilingual or multilingual status and attitudes about ethnic outgroups, and (b) Do students who speak a language associated with their ethnic group have more or less positive attitudes about their own ethnic group? Data was analyzed from a large sample (N = 4,333) of economically and ethnically diverse sixth grade students in the Los Angeles and San Francisco areas who were surveyed as part of an ongoing longitudinal study of adolescent well-being called the UCLA-UC Berkeley Middle School Diversity Project. Analyses of numerous multiple regression models revealed that multilingual individuals (specifically students who speak Spanish or an Asian language at home) tend to hold more negative views about outgroups, but that speaking a language associated with one's ethnic group is not associated with more positive attitudes about one's own ethnic group. This research expands the understanding of ethnic group relations and development challenges faced by those who do not speak English at home.

Intergroup attitudes— biases, beliefs and judgments about individuals from other social groups (Levy and Killen 2008)— structure the social functioning of individuals. Investigating the balance of motives and intentions in intergroup attitudes is necessary to understand how groups interact and how individuals become inclusive or exclusive. Prior research indicates that racial and ethnic attitudes are a key component of intergroup dynamics, and that attitudes about outgroups are largely determined by an individual's social characteristics (Spanierman, Beard and Todd 2012). One of these social characteristics, language identity plays a significant role but remains under-theorized in available research. This is a key concern for social scientists, educators, and policy makers.

The present study seeks to reveal if differences in languages spoken at home are associated with differences in ethnic group attitudes. The following research questions are addressed: (a) what is the relationship between bilingual or multilingual status and attitudes about ethnic outgroups, and (b) do students who speak a language associated with their ethnic group have more or less positive attitudes about their own ethnic group? Drawing from the most recent scholarship, we hypothesized that being multilingual is associated with more negative attitudes about outgroups and with more positive attitudes about ethnic ingroups. Before discussing the current analysis in detail, we review the relevant literature on identity and language, focusing on the role of language identities in the formation of ethnic group attitudes. Next, we discuss the current study, which involved a large sample of ethnically and linguistically diverse students from throughout California. Finally, we examine the implications for these findings in school-based settings and discuss directions for future research.

Formation of Intergroup Attitudes

The development of racial and ethnic attitudes has been one of the major concerns of the social sciences for decades. This acquisition of ingroup and outgroup attitudes has been addressed in a variety of academic fields. Consequently, the process of attitude development is often described in terms that are idiosyncratic to specific disciplines. In the current paper we draw from the fields of developmental psychology and sociology because both approaches contain important elements of a cohesive theory.

The terms *race* and *ethnicity* are frequently used interchangeably in academic literature despite being distinct constructs. It is critical to define precisely what these terms mean for the purposes of this paper (Phinney 1996).

In contrast to the traditional categorization of individuals on the basis of a supposed genotype, social theory offers a different conception of race. The theory, as described by Omi and Winant, emphasizes a "socially constructed definition of race in which members of society, not principles of biology, define who belongs to what race and what such a membership means in terms of power and access to social resources" (1994: 65). Race is therefore an ascribed category, denoting groups with shared genetic, biological, and physical features (Graham and Juvonen 2010). Ethnicity, on the other hand, reflects a group's common history, nationality, geography, language, and culture (Graham & Juvonen 2010). It is important to keep in mind that the terms race and ethnicity are distinct but not mutually exclusive. Both race and ethnicity are powerful markers that individuals have been socialized to imbue with fabricated designations (Lucas and Beresford 2010).

Omi and Winant suggest that a sociohistorical process is involved in racial formation and in the acquisition of outgroup attitudes (1994). The process of racial

formation is “the sociohistorical process by which racial categories are created, inhabited, transformed, and destroyed” (1994: 55). Race is a product of both the “social structure and cultural representation” of groups within that structure and that racial formation occurs when a link is made between structure and representation of a certain group (1994: 56). Racial categories and resulting outgroup attitudes are defined by groups that hold the social and political power to organize and distribute resources within society. While racial outgroup attitudes are powerful factors that shape the acquisition of outgroup attitudes, one must consider other contributing factors in order to more wholly understand how one’s language spoken at home affects perception of others.

Research has indicated that a variety of cognitive, personality, and social factors play a role in the development of outgroup attitudes. For example, negative attitudes about outgroups is associated with biased encoding and judgment processes that serve to maintain negative stereotypes (Sherman et al. 2005), a personality trait of punitiveness (Hesselbart and Schuman 1976), and low levels of intergroup contact (Wright and Tropp 2005). Another influencing factor that is important to acknowledge is parent socialization. The purpose of parental socialization is to transmit values, beliefs and ideas around lifestyles based on cultural knowledge of the adult tasks and competencies needed for appropriate functioning in society (Thomas et al. 2010). In addition to the factors that are responsible for the formation of racial and ethnic outgroup attitudes; a consideration of how these sentiments become malleable in social settings is essential. Gordon Allport argues in his contact hypothesis that close and sustained contact with members of different racial groups promotes positive and tolerant attitudes about racial outgroups under a specific set of conditions (Ellison and Powers 1994). Despite extensive research about how ethnic outgroup attitudes are formed, one lacking explanation is the effect of language spoken at home.

The Role of Language in the Formation of Intergroup Attitudes

Similar to racial or ethnic identities, language has symbolic value that contributes to the formation of intergroup attitudes. Language identities should be understood as “the assumed and/or attributed relationships between one’s sense of self and a means of communication” (Block 2006: 35). For bilingual or multilingual individuals, the multifaceted process of identity construction and resulting intergroup attitudes becomes a conflicted course in which one must navigate through an economy of signs based on race, ethnicity, and symbolic values. While the traditional demographic predictors determine the probability of being proficient in a language, the actual linguistic outcomes may vary depending on personal incentives for learning or maintaining that language. These incentives, in turn, are strongly influenced by the social context of language use (Carhill,

Suarez-Orozco, and Paez 2008). One can interpret individuals' identities as bilinguals as being linked to socially constructed beliefs about the value of different language varieties or ethnic background. Therefore, identity can be shaped by whether an individual views his or her language skills as a value or a deficit in larger society (Showstack 2012). Although the relationship between language and outgroup attitudes is rarely studied, there is reason to suspect that language may aid in the development of cross-group relationships and socialization of children to norms about race (Wright and Tropp 2005).

The theory of ingroup favoritism and outgroup negativity largely informs our hypothesis about the ethnic group attitudes of multilingual individuals. Ingroup favoritism refers to a pattern of favoring members of one's ingroup over outgroup members, which can be expressed in evaluation of others, allocation of resources, and in many other ways (Aronson, Wilkert, and Akert 2010). In contrast to ingroup favoritism, outgroup negativity is the act of punishing or placing burdens upon the outgroup (Tajfe and Turner 1979). In a cognitive sense, language is commonly used to define ourselves against outgroups, which in turn shapes identity in opposition to others (Wright and Tropp 2005).

Steele and Aronson build upon theories of ingroup favoritism and outgroup negativity. Their concept, stereotype threat, refers to being at risk of confirming a stereotype about one's group (Steele and Aronson 1995). Researchers have shown that language spoken is an important determiner of personality judgments and resulting stereotype applications of speakers in bilingual and multilingual communities (Gallois and Callan 1981). Multilingual individuals at risk of stereotype threat may also attempt to distance themselves from a marginalized language ingroup in order to assimilate to a national linguistic group.

Ultimately, the symbolic values of language are instrumental to the creation and shifting of ingroup and outgroup boundaries. Researchers have reported two different but complementary identity reactions to perceived ethnic discrimination: disidentification from the national majority group and reactive ethnicity (Jasinskaja-Lahti et al. 2012). Both models are derived from the social identity theory created by Tajfel (1978) and they suggest perceived discrimination evokes negative attitudes towards the discrimination outgroup. Current research about adolescent children of immigrants indicates that the primary venue in which perceived discrimination influences linguistic adaptation is through the English language (Medvedeva 2010). Several social psychological studies have shown that the anticipation of future contact affects the way in which actual contact situations are perceived and intergroup attitudes are formed (Jasinskaja-Lahti et al. 2012). Indeed, people who have negative expectations about future intergroup interaction tend to avoid, rather than approach, outgroup members (Mendoza-Denton et al. 2002). These patterns prohibit the integration of various outgroups, which will be apparent in my analysis of bilingual

individuals. In contrast, if positive intergroup interactions are anticipated, they are more probably also perceived, which further results in positive outgroup attitudes (Jasinskaja-Lahti et al. 2012).

Because of the strong association between youth's language proficiency and their current well-being and future socio-economic prospects, linguistic adaptation of children of immigrants has been studied extensively. However, an analysis of intergroup attitudes among students who speak different languages at home who are not necessarily immigrants has yet to be researched. In the following section we discuss an attempt to fill this gap in the literature.

METHODOLOGY

We hypothesize that language identities, much like racial identities, shape the way that we engage with diverse peers. Therefore, we expect to find that being multilingual is associated with decreases in attitudes about ethnic outgroups and with increases in attitudes about ethnic ingroups. Past studies focus on demographic explanations of language proficiency and rarely examine the impact of homes, schools, and other spaces in a larger society. Because our sample is composed of students who attend ethnically diverse educational institutions, we plan to discuss the potential outcomes from being in this environment for children of all language groups.

In order to determine if differences in ethnic group attitudes do or do not exist between students who speak English at home compared to those who do not speak English at home, we analyzed the UCLA-UC Berkeley Middle School Diversity Project data set by estimating numerous multiple regression models. The statistical analysis of the UCLA-UC Berkeley Diversity Project data set is effective because it represents a diverse, sizeable, and reliable sample that accurately portrays sentiments about being a middle school student in today's world. Using multiple linear regression, we examine the contribution of language spoken at home to self-reported affective evaluations and cognitive representations of other ethnic groups, controlling for parent education level, school belonging, gender, ethnicity, place of birth, parent's place of birth, and parental socialization about race.

Participants

The sample consists of 4,333 middle school students, 48 percent of whom were male (Table 1; Appendix A). At the time of data collection, participants were aged 10 to 12 years (M = 11, SD = 0.46). Based on self-reported ethnicity, the ethnic composition of the sample included *Pacific Islander/South Asian/Southeast Asian* (25%), *Black/African American* (15%), *Latino/Mexican/Mexican-American* (40%), and *White/Caucasian* (20%) participants. In

addition, the level of parent education was categorized as *low or less than high school diploma* (20%), *mid or high school to some college* (40%), and *high or four year degree or higher* (40%) based upon information obtained from their parents. Approximately 14% of the participants were immigrants and 66% categorized themselves as the second generation of their family to live in the United States.

The selection and recruitment of middle schools was a critical component for the success of the Middle School Diversity Project. Ethnicity data for all California public schools is made available from the California Department of Education. This data was used to recruit schools that vary in terms of both overall diversity and the specific racial/ethnic groups that comprise that diversity. The ethnic diversity of all middle schools was computed using Simpson's diversity index (1949):

$$D_S = 1 - \sum_{i=1}^{g} p_i^2$$

D_S gives the probability that any two students randomly selected from a school will be from different ethnic groups. Once diversity values were identified, the second part of the sampling requires attention to the specific ethnic groups that comprise a school's D_S. To avoid confounding ethnicity and social class in selecting schools, the sample is restricted to lower-middle/lower-SES (working class) communities, based on free lunch data and census data (e.g., median income, number of males and females in the workforce) for the neighborhoods in which the selected schools are located. In addition, school factors such as size and academic performance level are controlled. Schools with average enrollments of 900-1200 students were selected with average reading and math achievement (40th to 60th percentile on standardized tests). However, because the analysis only contains students enrolled in ethnically diverse middle schools located in California, the findings cannot be directly generalized to the larger population of the United States.

There is a missing longitudinal component of the present research. At the time of analysis, only data from sixth grade was available, which makes drawing causal links between language and attitudes about outgroups difficult. Also, the maintenance of a second home language may be lost or valued differently throughout one's middle school experience. Because of this limitation, we do not assume certain causality between language and attitudes about outgroups.

Measures

Language. Students were asked to report the language(s) that they speak at home with their family. If they spoke more than one language at home, they were asked to circle the language spoken at home most often. Multilingual students, or students who speak a

non-English language at home, comprised 60% of the sample. About 20% of the sample spoke an Asian language and 35% of the sample spoke Spanish.

Ethnic Intergroup attitudes. Intergroup attitudes include both affective and cognitive components. All of the measures ask participants to make judgments about the four major ethnic groups included in the sample: African American, Latino, Asian, and White. In the affective evaluation of ethnic group attitudes, an adaptation of the "feelings thermometer" used in racial attitude research (Hugenberg and Bodenhausen 2003) assesses students' feelings toward other social groups. In contrast, the cognitive measures of intergroup attitudes often examine perception of the typicality of particular traits in specific groups. Participants are presented with six positive traits (e.g., smart, nice) and six negative traits (e.g., mean, dishonest) in counterbalanced order. As each trait is presented, they are asked to determine how many people from each of the 7 social groups possess that trait (e.g., *How many African American people are smart?*).

Covariates

Gender, age, and immigrant status. Students were able to identify themselves as male or female and self-reported date of birth was used to determine age. To determine immigrant status, students report their own and their parents' country of origin. Drawing upon immigration literature (e.g. Rumbaut 2000), we classified students as 1st generation if they were born outside of the United States, 2nd generation if at least one parent was born outside of the United States, and 3rd generation or beyond if both parents were born in the United States.

Parent education level. A parent survey was required to be filled out before the students participated in the study. Within this two-page survey, parents were asked to report their level of education. For analysis these categories were aggregated into three levels of parent education: (1) Less than high school diploma; (2) High school diploma and some college; (3) Four year degree or higher.

Parent socialization about race. Parental socialization about race is defined as the transmission of information about race and ethnicity from parents to their children (Hughes et al. 2006). Two subscales from the 16-item measure developed by Hughes and Chen (1997) were adopted for the study. One subscale (4 items) assesses preparation for bias (e.g., *How often have you explained to your child how she/he may get mistreated because of her/his ethnicity?).* The second subscale taps cultural socialization (e.g., *How often have you taken your child to cultural events that celebrate their ethnic background?*). Items about gender socialization (e.g., *...explained to your child how she might get mistreated*

because of her gender?) are embedded so that the task is presented as a study of how parents transmit of knowledge about different social groups.

Ethnicity. Student ethnicity is determined by self-report and corroborated by records provided by schools. In order to be able to compare student's ethnic group attitudes, the study sample is limited to White, Asian, African American, and Latino students' views about those four ethnic groups.

FINDINGS

Within the sample, average attitudes of ethnic groups were relatively positive on the five-point Likert scale[1]. Attitudes about the four ethnic groups follow: *Asian* (3.77), *African American* (3.60), *Latino* (3.75), *White* (3.71). Attitudes about outgroups were also high on the five-point likert scale (3.60).

To answer the first Research Question, a measure of students' attitudes about all ethnic outgroups was regressed upon multilingual status, racial categories, gender, and generational status (Table 2; Appendix A). The analyses revealed that being multilingual was associated with decreases in attitudes about ethnic outgroups, controlling for race, gender, parent education level, parent socialization about race, school belonging, and generational status. The effect size, as measured by Cohen's f^2, is 0.27[2]. This measured effect size indicates that the model has a medium to large effect size and the R square value was 0.215 (Rosenthal 1994).

However, because the outcome variable cannot distinguish whether or not students varied in their attitudes about specific ethnic outgroups, additional analyses were conducted. First, using a subset of the data containing only Latino students, attitudes about White students were regressed on a variable for speaking Spanish, and controlled for generational status, parent education level, parent socialization about race, school belonging, and gender. Then, a regression of attitudes about African American students was performed on a variable for speaking Spanish, controlling for generational status, parent education level, parent socialization about race, school belonging and gender. Next, attitudes about Asian students were regressed on a variable for speaking Spanish, controlling for generational status, parent education level, parent socialization about race, school belonging, and gender. By performing these regressions, the impact of speaking Spanish on Latino students' attitudes about specific outgroups was determined.

The regressions revealed that speaking Spanish at home was associated with more negative attitudes about White students (p = .001), Asian students (p = .003), and African American students (p = .008) after controlling for generational status, parent education level, parent socialization about race, school belonging, and gender (Table 3; Appendix A).

These results indicate that speaking Spanish at home may in some way impact Latino students' beliefs and feelings about other ethnic groups. Also, a medium effect size and 0.108 R square value have been measured.

Using a subset of the data containing only Asian students, attitudes about White students were regressed on a variable for speaking an Asian language, while controlling for generational status, parent education level, parent socialization about race, school belonging, and gender. Then, attitudes about African American students were regressed on a variable for speaking an Asian Language, controlling for generational status, parent education level, parent socialization about race, school belonging, and gender. Finally, attitudes about Latino students were regressed on a variable for speaking an Asian language, controlling for generational status, parent education level, parent socialization about race, school belonging, and gender. The aim of these regressions was to determine whether speaking an Asian language impacted Asian students' attitudes about specific ethnic outgroups.

After conducting these analyses, it became clear that speaking an Asian language at home was associated with more negative attitudes about White students (p = .017) and Latino students (p = .022), but was not associated with decreases in Asian students' attitudes of African American students (p = .464) after controlling for generational status, parent education level, parent socialization about race, school belonging, and gender. Similar to the results about speaking Spanish at home, these results indicate that speaking an Asian language at home may in some way impact Asian students' beliefs and feelings about other ethnic groups. A medium effect size and an R square value of 0.168 have been measured for the statistically significant variables.

In order to answer the second research question, Latino students' attitudes were regressed on a variable for speaking Spanish, a variable for gender, and variables for generational status. Next, Asian students' attitudes were regressed on a variable for speaking an Asian language, a variable for gender, and variables for generational status. The results indicate that, for Latino students, speaking Spanish at home was not associated with any differences in students' attitudes about Latino students in general (p = .105), after controlling for generational status, parent education level, parent socialization about race, school belonging, and gender. Similarly, for Asian students, speaking an Asian language was not associated with any differences in students' attitudes about Asian students in general (p = .575), after controlling for generational status, parent education level, parent socialization about race, school belonging, and gender. A roughly medium effect size was measured for the statistically significant variables.

these analyses revealed that multilingual individuals tend to hold more negative views about outgroups, but that speaking a language associated with one's ethnic group is

not associated with more positive attitudes about one's own ethnic group. The results also revealed that gender, parent socialization about race, parent education level, school belonging, and generational status are important in understanding attitudes about ethnic groups.

DISCUSSION

The purpose of the current study is to investigate differences in ethnic group attitudes between students who speak English at home compared to those who do not. The results indicate that multilingual individuals (specifically students who speak Spanish or an Asian language at home) tend to hold more negative views about outgroups, but that speaking a language associated with one's ethnic group is not associated with more positive attitudes about one's own ethnic group. The current findings support part of our original hypothesis. We had hypothesized that students residing in non-English language homes were more likely to hold negative views about ethnic outgroups, as they perceived discrimination from others due to their dissimilar language identity. We also hypothesized that because of this perceived discrimination, students would also hold more positive attitudes about their own ethnic group, which was not supported by my analysis. Also noteworthy is the existence of a significant effect of school belonging, gender, and immigration status on attitudes of ethnic groups.

Although we are unable to demonstrate a causal link between non-English languages spoken at home and negative views about ethnic outgroups, we begin by offering a few explanations for the current results based on prior research. We then describe the importance of this research, highlight the need for future research on adolescent language identities, and suggest some ways to improve upon the research design. We conclude by offering future directions for sociological research on the relationship between language identities and ethnic outgroup attitudes.

The results for the first research question indicate that multilingual individuals tend to hold more negative views toward ethnic outgroups. These findings are consistent with several central themes that have been stressed in recent theory and research on intergroup contact. The results suggest that ethnically diverse middle schools may not foster the type of equal status or cooperative contact that encourages positive intergroup attitudes. Because the UCLA-UC Berkeley Middle School Diversity Project samples ethnically diverse institutions, attitudes are measured in public school settings where ethnic group membership remains salient (Brown and Hewstone 2005).

Similar to other research projects on intergroup attitudes in educational settings, the contact hypothesis guides my explanation for this finding. Allport's formulation (1954)

of the hypothesis proposes that contact between members of different groups can, under a specific set of conditions, lead to improved attitudes toward outgroups. The psychologist proposed that contact should be structured so that: (a) members of the two groups hold equal status during the interaction; (b) it promotes cooperative interdependence between the members of the two groups; and (c) relevant authorities support the intergroup contact (Allport 1954). In contrast, the absence of such contact is believed to foster stereotyping, prejudice, and ill will toward outgroups (Ellison and Powers 1994). I propose that institutional conditions significantly contribute to the establishment of this cohesive environment.

Although most middle schools are under the regulation of relevant authorities that support the monolingual and multilingual students interacting, the other two preconditions established by Allport are not upheld in ethnically diverse middle schools. The failure of the first precondition, that members of the two groups hold equal status during the interaction, has been shaped historically through unequal framings of bilingual students' capabilities and distribution of educational resources. From colonial times to modernity, a cyclical reproduction of disfavoring immigrants and privileging English speakers has become ingrained in the American approach. With the normalization of these harmful beliefs embedded in the American mindset, students are taught that non-English speakers do not possess equal status to English speakers. This belief, in turn, does not promote the cooperative interdependence between the members of the two groups that Allport requires as a precondition for the contact hypothesis. Mixing individuals of different ethnicities does not necessarily produce an accepting and cohesive environment.

The results for the second research question, which asked if students who speak a language associated with their ethnic group have more or less positive attitudes about their own ethnic group, indicate that an association between multilingual individuals who speak a language associated with their own ethnic group and more positive attitudes about their ethnic group does not exist. This finding disproves my original hypothesis based upon the phenomena of ingroup favoritism. Steele and Aronson's stereotype threat provides evidence that accounts for this seemingly contradictory finding. As previously mentioned, stereotype threat refers to being at risk of confirming, as self-characteristic, a stereotype about one's group (Steele and Aronson 1995). Even when multilingual individuals have gained a fluent command of English, they may continue to be disadvantaged because of the negative reactions to their accented English or occasional miscommunications, both which are rooted in a sense of not belonging to the national community. Researchers across the world have shown that language spoken is an important determiner of personality judgments and resulting stereotype applications of speakers in bilingual and multilingual communities (Gallois and Callan 1981). The case *Meyer v. State of Nebraska* (1923)

established the precedent for enforcing English-only instruction so that immigrant children would live up to their full "use value" as workers (Blomraad 2006: 932). This repression of minority groups' languages perpetuates the stereotype that non-English language identities are barriers to assimilation.

In the present study, multilingual middle school students have demonstrated that speaking a language associated with one's ethnic group is not associated with more positive attitudes about one's own ethnic group. Rather than reinforcing strong bonds within their own ethnic group, students confirm the stereotype that one must entirely detach themselves from their ethnic identity in order to properly assimilate. Therefore, a significant relation between language spoken at home and ethnic group identification was not found.

IMPLICATIONS OF CURRENT FINDINGS

By studying pathways to successful adaptation, researchers and educators can identify the variables that buffer many of the normative challenges of early adolescence. Despite studies that explain how bilingual competence helps to overcome adverse effects of assimilation (Portes and Rumbaut 2001), this research reveals a different perspective about speaking a non-English language at home. The current findings have important implications for students, and warrant the attention of both academics and policy makers.

Broadly, this research contributes to the understanding of the psychosocial challenges of normative development during early adolescence by focusing on the ways in which one's language spoken at home affects their racial perceptions. Findings from the available literature suggest that social identity development is one of the major developmental tasks of adolescence as youth attempt to define themselves in relation to salient social groups (Tajfel and Truner 1979), but an explanation of home language's role in this development is lacking. The present research findings show that language identities act as barriers to social integration as there is a statistically significant negative relationship between multilingual status and positive views toward outgroup members.

Because the sample consists of students from ethnically diverse middle schools, the research contributes to the understanding of normative development during early adolescence by focusing on the ways in which diverse school settings can buffer or produce psychological challenges. Past studies tend to focus on demographic explanations of language proficiency but rarely examine the impact of the immediate social environment at home, school and in a larger society. While these demographic predictors determine an overall probability of language proficiency, the actual linguistic outcomes may vary depending on personal incentives for learning or maintaining that language. These

incentives, in turn, are strongly influenced by the social context of language use (Carhill et al. 2008). Because our sample is composed of students who attend ethnically diverse educational institutions, we believe that the results should be considered when studying ethnically diverse middle schools. To study methods to reduce "racial prejudice," educators must also consider the complex influences of language.

The research also has implications for social policies affecting youth. At a time when the school-aged population is becoming so linguistically diverse, schools are now more segregated than they were in the past 40 years (Alba et al. 2000). For example, the typical white student attends school where 80 percent of the students are white, and the typical black or Latino student attends school where at least two-thirds of the students are from their own ethnic group (Orfield and Lee 2007). In order to create social integration policies designed to benefit the youth, it is important to introduce the existing differences between those who do and do not speak English at home into research so that a more holistic understanding of segregation can be achieved.

In a more specific context, the study has the potential to contribute to the understanding of learning environments for bilingual students. Because it has been established that students who speak a non-English language at home are more likely to hold more negative views about some ethnic outgroups, educators must consider these unspoken group dynamics when considering pedagogical methods. Furthermore, the emerging view of racial and ethnic interpretations as dynamic constructs can be useful for research in other social settings, including the neighborhood or workplace, where the implications of increasing ethnic diversity are a primary concern.

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[1] Likert scales typically range from 5 or 7. This progressive structure of the scale is such that each successive Likert item is treated as indicating a ‘better’ response than the preceding value (Maurer & Pierce, 1998).

[2] Cohen’s f^2 statistic is a measure of effect size, which is a measure of the strength of the relationship between variables. Specifically, Cohen’s f^2 statistic is a measure of a kind of standardized average effect in the population across all the levels of the independent variable. The statistic can take on values between zero, when the population means are all equal, and an indefinitely large number as standard deviation of means increases relative to the average standard deviation within each group. Jacob Cohen has suggested that the values of 0.02, 0.15, and 0.35 represent small, medium, and large effect sizes, respectively. Cohen’s f^2 statistic is calculated as $f = \sigma_m/\sigma_1$ where σ_m is the standard deviation (*SD*) of population means (m_1) and σ is the common within-population *SD* (Salkind, 2010).

APPENDIX A

Table 1. Descriptive Statistics

	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
Asian Language	4085	.00	1.00	.2078	.40581
Spanish	4086	.00	1.00	.3549	.47853
African American	4121	.00	1.00	.1478	.35492
Asian	4121	.00	1.00	.2468	.43119
Latino	4121	.00	1.00	.4045	.49086
Multiethnic	4121	.00	.00	.0000	.00000
Other, Including Native American	4121	.00	.00	.0000	.00000
White	4121	.00	1.00	.2009	.40074
Bilingual	4079	.00	1.00	.6055	.48879
Immigrant	4151	.00	1.00	.1368	.34371
First Generation	4030	.00	1.00	.6635	.47256
Male	4333	.00	1.00	.4830	.49977
Less Than a High School Diploma	3757	.00	1.00	.1962	.39715
High School Degree to Some College	3757	.00	1.00	.4051	.49098
Four Year Degree or More	3757	.00	1.00	.3987	.48970
School Belonging	4131	1.00	5.00	3.8521	.74787
Parent Socialization About Race	3640	1.00	5.00	3.2174	.74095
Outgroup Attitudes	3378	1.33	5.00	3.6010	.60545
Attitudes of Asians	3770	1.00	5.00	3.7720	.67325
Attitudes of African Americans	3806	1.00	5.00	3.6014	.70515
Attitudes of Latinos	3756	1.00	5.00	3.7503	.68140
Attitudes of Whites	3783	1.00	5.00	3.7089	.64999
Valid N	2510				

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The Study of the Senpai-Kouhai Culture in Junior High Schools in Japan

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In Japanese high schools a one-year difference in age shapes a distinctive relationship between older age groups, or Senpai, and younger age groups, or Kouhai. Although many research projects have been conducted on this Senpai-Kouhai culture, the majority of projects are outdated and/or do not focus on junior high school settings where people experience the culture for the first time. This paper aims to provide up-to-date information about the culture in junior high school in Japan using ethnographic data conducted in a Japanese high school. The findings of the study support previous findings on the hierarchical and dependent characteristics of Senpai-Kouhai culture.

"A one-year difference in age." It sounds small and possibly insignificant. But in Japan it can dictate a hierarchy among interpersonal relationships, one determined by *Senpai* and *Kouhai*.

Senpai-Kouhai culture—the system of seniority based hierarchies prevalent in Japanese society—has long been a popular subject of study for Japanese and foreign researchers. *Senpai-Kouhai* culture is formed between not only classes, statuses, and genders but between different age groups in Japan (Benedict 2005: 60, 66). These vertical social structures are common qualities in Japanese communities (Nakane 2012) and can be found in high schools, colleges, and even white color-organizations (Rohlen 1974). Recent literature on the subject, however, is hard to come by. It is particularly difficult to find research on *Senpai-Kouhai* culture in junior high schools, where people experience and learn about the culture for the first time (2005: 142-43). My research, then, aims to provide up-to-date understandings of the *Senpai-Kouhai* culture through intensive literature reviews, survey data, observational data on the *Senpai-Kouhai* relationship.

DEFINITION AND REASON OF FOCUS

Before exploring the *Senpai-Kouhai* culture in Japan, it is necessary to clarify the exact meanings of *Senpai* and *Kouhai*. Literally, *Senpai* means a senior, and *Kouhai* means a junior

("Senpai" and "Kouhai," def., *Kenkyusha*). An English dictionary defines senior as: 1) a person higher in rank or status than others or 2) a person who is older than somebody else. The meanings of junior are opposite to these three definitions ("Junior," def.), and both terms translate similarly into Japanese. However, Japanese gives an additional definition of senior and junior: a person who enters either a school or a company earlier or later than somebody else. Both *Senpai* and *Kouhai* are relative terms since both are based on comparisons of status, skills, age, and time of entrance into a group. In other words, *Senpai* exists only when there are *Kouhai*, and *Kouhai* exists only when there are *Senpai*.

It is important to focus on the junior high school period to study the relationship between *Senpai* and *Kouhai*. Although previous research finds that the relationship is rooted in many aspects of Japanese society (Doi [1971] 2012: 193; Nakane [1969] 2012: 22, 72-73; Satou 2005: 133), people also start to develop the relationship when they are in junior high school because, at that time, age groups are cognitively prone to adapt to hierarchical and dependent relationships (Satou 2005: 142-43). Since junior high school is the first place people learn about the culture, studying the culture in junior high schools is significant to understand Japanese society as a whole.

THE *SENPAI-KOUHAI* CULTURE

In the Meiji era, changes in the Japanese education system increased the enrollment rate and segregated students into different age groups ("Gakkou Kyoiku-hou Sekou Kisoku" 1947; "Syugaku-ritsu no Jousyou"). Students' ages began to indicate the time when they entered school and the grade students were in (Satou 2005: 138). From this, Nakane wrote that *Senpai-Kouhai* culture is determined by the length of time of a person has been a member of a school ([1967] 2012: 54-55), with higher positions coming with greater ages. Marcia Johnson and Jeffery Johnson provide an example: "[K]ōhai students in the tennis club might spend one year chasing tennis balls while the upperclassmen practice. Only after the upperclassmen have finished may the underclassmen use the courts" (1996). *Senpai*, have a kind of privilege, and "older" implies the longer length of school enrollment.

Hierarchical relationships are the most apparent characteristic of *Senpai-Kouhai* school culture according to existing literature. Where it is found in Japan, group hierarchy influences a person's way of speaking. *Kouhai* are expected to speak to *Senpai* in a polite manner. *Kouhai* occasionally struggle to speak to *Senpai* because of the strict expectations for polite language (Nakamura et al. 2010; Nakane 2012; Enyo 2013), and the use of the polite language by *Kouhai* is expected to clarify the hierarchical relationship with *Senpai* and keep harmony between them. According to Reizei, this is aided by the focus on interpersonal harmony in Japanese, and the harmony is kept by clarifying hierarchical relationships in a conversation (2012: 169). Akihiko Reizei argues that there is no "equal"

conversation in Japan, insisting that conversation in Japanese is based on a tacit understanding of hierarchy (2012: 151, 171).

The hierarchy also affects *Kouhai*'s ability to state their opinions to *Senpai*. According to Nakane, *Kouhai* who state their dissatisfaction with *Senpai* are seen as troublemakers who cause disharmony in a group, and *Kouhai* often are expelled from groups as a result of speaking out ([1967] 2012: 86-87). If *Kouhai* really have to state their counterarguments to *Senpai*, *Kouhai* must be careful choosing their words. *Kouhai* have to use euphemistic ways to state their opinions against that of *Senpai* to keep their relationship with *Senpai* in harmony. *Kouhai* are told to be careful not to "embarrass" *Senpai* by disagreeing (Reizei, 2012: 170-77)

"*Amae,"* or dependence, also exists in many interpersonal relationships in Japan. A Japanese-English dictionary defines the word as "(excessive) reliance on others" ("Amae," def.). While the word is traditionally used to describe a child's reliance on parents, in Japan the term describes various kinds of relationships, including *Senpai-Kouhai* culture (Doi 2012: 6). For instance, it is widely accepted in Japan that employees depend on their bosses, students depend on their teachers, and *Kouhai* depend on *Senpai* (Doi 2012: 193). *Amae* is supposed to exist because humans cannot live alone in nature, and thus must depend on one another in modern society (Doi 2012: 8).

In schools *Amae* can be seen where *Kouhai* depend on *Senpai* as if *Senpai* are older siblings, and where *Senpai* are expected to take care of *Kouhai* as if *Kouhai* are younger siblings. *Senpai* are expected to be role models of *Kouhai* and teach them to observe the norms of school. Seiko Takeishi conducted field work for about a year in a high school in Japan (2010: 43-44). During her ethnography, she noticed that *Senpai* took leadership roles in student council and in practices for sports festivals. With no direction from teachers, the practices were totally led by *Senpai* with little input from younger students. According to Takeishi, *Kouhai* learn how to behave in the school from *Senpai* at such events

Kouhai's dependence on *Senpai* may create the hierarchical relationship, and thus, *Kouhai* are cajoled into the "domination" of *Senpai*. *Kouhai* are "expected to give absolute loyalty" to *Senpai* in return for the support that they receive from *Senpai* (Hendry 2013: 154).The phenomenon is common among younger age groups in Japan. Takeda notes in his ethnographic work that there is a region in Japan where groups are formed by people of similar age, and that in the groups, younger members call older members either "*Ani*" or "*Ane*," meaning "older brother" and "older sister" respectively (1989: 35). *Ani* and *Ane* are expected to support their younger brothers and sisters in marriages and conflicts with neighbors (Takeda 1989: 32-36). Moreover, Takeda argues that the relationship of *Ani* and *Ane* or brothers and sisters is an old tradition of Japan (1989: 3). Put differently, *Senpai-Kouhai* culture is formed through dependent relationships in which both *Senpai* and *Kouhai*

give and take from each other. Such analysis helps partially explain why little reported resistance to *Senpai* exists in Japanese high schools.

ANALYSIS OF THE *SENPAI-KOUHAI* CULTURE: THE CASE OF A JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL IN JAPAN

While existing literature provides vital information on *Senpai-Kouhai* culture as a whole, the age of such studies prevents us from understanding the present. To understand contemporary junior high schools new data is needed. To do this I conducted a survey of junior high school students in Japan buffeted by ethnographic observations.

Method

The main purpose of the survey was to get both quantitative and qualitative data by asking open-ended and closed-ended questions. The questionnaire was based around the subjects of seniority and *Amae* (Appendix E). Closed-ended questions were used to grasp demographic information such as gender, age and grade (Appendix E, Questions 1-3). Closed-ended questions were also used to deepen existing knowledge, such as the role of seniority in student clubs and committees. Open-ended questions asked students to describe characteristics of ideal *Senpai* and *Kouhai* (Appendix E, Question 16). The purpose of this question was to get information about expected roles of *Senpai* and *Kouhai* and how they should ideally behave.

To collect the sample for the survey I employed a convenience sampling approach. Since I had access to a junior high school in Japan, I requested permission to include students attending the school. With the cooperation of the school and its teachers, I was permitted to administer the questionnaire to two classes in each grade level. Those classes were chosen by the school since random selection was not feasible. Though the random sampling was difficult 222 students, a third of the school, were polled. Expected survey participants included 71 students in the seventh grade, 78 students in the eighth grade, and 73 students in the ninth grade.

After I received all the completed questionnaires I began observing students. Since students' ages are almost the same in each grade level, I conducted hourly observations after 4p.m. when club activities start and students from different grade levels interact with each other. I mainly observed athletic club activities such as basketball and ping-pong clubs simply because there were more athletic clubs than non-athletic clubs. There were 11 athletic clubs and only four non-athletic clubs at the high school I studied. I observed two non-athletic clubs: brass band club and art club.

Findings

Out of 222 potential participants, I received 207 completed questionnaires (response rate of 93%).

Table 1. The Number and Percentage (%) of Students Speaking in Polite Manner to *Senpai* by Grade Levels

	Seventh	Eighth	Ninth	Total
Yes	63 (92.6%)	65 (91.5%)	55 (90.2%)	183 (91.5%)
No	0	1 (1.4%)	0	1 (0.5%)
Neither	5 (7.3%)	5 (7.0%)	6 (9.8%)	16 (8.0%)

My own observations and survey data corroborate the older findings on *Senpai-Kouhai* culture. In the previous section, I stated that the hierarchical relationship requires *Kouhai* to use polite language. Although some students answered that it depends on *Senpai* whether or not they speak in a polite way, most students answered “yes” to the question. They will use polite language to any *Senpai* (Table 1, Last Page). Each student had a chance to state reasons for their answers. Among those students who answered “yes” to the question, two of the most frequently stated reasons why they use polite language are “because *Senpai* are superior” and “because *Senpai* are older.” In addition, a significant number of students answered that they use polite language to *Senpai* “because it is common knowledge.” In short, the hierarchical relationship is based upon the social norm of age-based superiority; students see *Senpai* as not only an older being but also a superior being.

There seems to be another social norm within the hierarchical relationship, that is, the seniority in role-taking. Two questions in the questionnaire asked whether students

take a specific role in their clubs and/or committees (Appendix E, Question 5 and 7). I combined the data from both questions, and the statistics for those students who take the specific roles in clubs and/or committees are shown in Table 2 (Next Page). The table reveals that those specific roles are taken predominantly by the ninth-grade students. It is notable that the presidential position, the highest position in clubs and committees, is filled only by the ninth-grade students.

Table 2. The Number of Students Taking Specific Roles in the Club and/or Committees by Grade Levels			
	Seventh	Eighth	Ninth
President	0	0	10
Vice President	0	4	9
Secretary/Manager	1	2	5
Total	1	6	24

It was rare during observation that teachers directed club activities. Clubs were usually without a teacher, and the teachers who were present at club events generally avoided leadership roles. *Senpai* were in charge of leading group activities.

It was expected that *Senpai* lead and take care of *Kouhai*. Approximately 93% of the students answered that they either strongly agree, agree, or somewhat agree with a statement "*Senpai* should behave as a role model of *Kouhai* in the school" (Table 3). Many students explained that the ideal *Senpai* are ones who "have leadership," "give advice for *Kouhai*," "are kind to *Kouhai*," and "behave as a role model" (Appendix E, Question 16-i). Students seemed to have a shared understanding that *Senpai* are expected to be admired leaders.

Table 3. The Number and Percentage (%) of Each Answer to the Question Regarding "*Senpai* Should Behave as a Role Model of *Kouhai*" by Grade Levels				
	Seventh	Eighth	Ninth	Total
Strongly Agree	25 (37.3%)	3 (6.3%)	16 (26.2%)	44 (25.0%)
Agree	34 (50.7%)	30 (62.5%)	28 (45.9%)	92 (52.3%)
Somewhat Agree	4 (5.9%)	12 (25.0%)	11 (18.0%)	27 (15.3%)
Somewhat Disagree	4 (5.9%)	2 (4.2%)	4 (6.6%)	10 (5.7%)
Disagree	0	1 (2.0%)	0	1 (0.6%)
Strongly Disagree	0	0	2 (3.3%)	2 (1.1%)

While *Senpai* are expected to lead *Kouhai*, *Kouhai* are expected to follow or depend on *Senpai*. Although I employed a strong word, "obey," in the questionnaire (Appendix E, Question 12), about 79% of the students either strongly agree, agree, or somewhat agree with a statement "*Kouhai* have to obey *Senpai*" (Table 4, Next Page). The open-ended question corroborated this. The students describe the ideal *Kouhai* as those who follow what *Senpai* tell them to do. Further, the ideal *Senpai* are portrayed not only as leaders but also as those who can listen to *Kouhai*'s problems. It seems that *Kouhai* are thought as

immature as a member of the school society, so *Kouhai* are encouraged to follow *Senpai* and depend on them to learn the culture of the school.

Table 4. The Number of Percentages (%) of Each Answer to the Question Regarding "*Kouhai* Has to Obey *Senpai*" by Grade Levels				
	Seventh	Eighth	Ninth	Total
Strongly Agree	6 (9.7%)	3 (4.3%)	11 (18.0%)	20 (10.4%)
Agree	19 (30.6%)	17 (24.6%)	21 (34.4%)	57 (29.7%)
Somewhat Agree	27 (43.5%)	30 (43.5%)	17 (27.9%)	74 (38.5%)
Somewhat Disagree	4 (6.5%)	13 (18.8%)	10 (16.4%)	27 (14.1%)
Disagree	3 (4.8%)	3 (4.4%)	1 (1.6%)	7 (3.6%)
Strongly Disagree	3 (4.8%)	3 (4.4%)	1 (1.6%)	7 (3.6%)

At the same time that students described *Kouhai* as those who follow *Senpai*, many of them also portrayed the ideal *Kouhai* as those who "can state their opinion to *Senpai*" and who "can initiate actions spontaneously." These answers imply that *Kouhai* are expected to be both dependent and autonomous to some extent. Hence, another characteristic of *Kouhai* can be concluded from this; *Kouhai* are expected to play dichotomous roles, dependent and autonomous character, at the same time.

CONCLUSION

This paper provides empirical findings on the hierarchical and dependent characteristics of *Senpai-Kouhai* culture. The data unearthed two significant aspects for characteristics of the *Senpai-Kouhai* relationship. First, the age-based superiority in which *Senpai* are seen as superior was found through survey and observations. Second, the data supported the dichotomous characteristics of *Kouhai*; *Kouhai* have both dependent and autonomous expectations. I cannot generalize these findings based upon the data from only one school. However, I believe the survey and observations are important for supporting previous findings and suggesting new potential aspects of the *Senpai-Kouhai* culture.

For this conclusion to be more compelling it should be supported by additional research on the *Senpai-Kouhai* culture in other high schools, colleges/universities, companies, and other parts of Japanese society. I sincerely hope other sociologists will further this research on the *Senpai-Kouhai* culture and reveal its significance for Japanese society.

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Constructing Sexual Identities: The Importance of Social Experiences and Personal Interpretations

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In this paper I investigate the process of sexual identity construction among individuals who identify as LGB. I conducted loosely-structured interviews with ten participants. The findings indicate that personal interpretations and social experiences influenced the participants' process of sexual identity construction. There were three main categories of experiences that influenced the participants to change or maintain their sexual identity: changes to their social context, movement to new towns and cities, and changes to their personal interpretations of their sexuality. Although many perceive sexual identities to be the natural end result of individuals finding out "who they are," the data I gathered illustrate that sexual identities are actually socially constructed. This data underscores the fact that a personal characteristic many take to be natural and ingrained—sexual identity—is actually a highly social phenomenon.

Although there is a rich body of work about LGB sexual identity construction, there remain many questions about this process. Much early work takes an essentialist approach to sexual identity construction, positing that LGB people complete a linear path for a "correct" sexual identity (Cass 1979; Coleman 1981; Minton and McDonald 1984). More recent scholarship acknowledges the social construction of identity labels (Katz 1995; Seidman 2010) and the ways in which individuals may modify and adopt sexual identities based on their social and personal context (Hammack, Pilecki, and Thompson 2009). As Kitzinger and Wilkinson's (1995) study of lesbian women found, sexual identity change may be better thought of as the adoption of a new framework that will influence future interpretations of one's sexual identity, not as "coming out." In line with this, recent studies have demonstrated that for many individuals sexual identity development is fluid and ongoing (Diamond 2003; Diamond 2005). This is the case for several reasons.

First, social and historical forces influence identity construction (Chauncey 1994; D'Augelli 1994; Rust 1996). Second, there are such stark personal and social differences between individuals that there should be an emphasis on "differential developmental trajectories" (Savin-Williams 2001, p. 6) to account for these unique personal and social circumstances. Third, a variety of personal interpretations influence sexual identity construction. As Diamond (2003) notes about the women in her sample, "identity relinquishment does not represent a fundamental change in sexual orientation itself, but rather a change in how women interpret and act on their sexual orientation" (p. 361). Indeed, as Rust (1992) found in her research about lesbian and bisexual women, perceptions of how important attractions and current sexual behavior are to one's sexual identity influenced the sexual identity her participants adopted. Opinions and information about sexual identity labels may also influence sexual identity development (Kitzinger and Wilkinson 1995). As a result of all these factors, there is no end to sexual identity development (D'Augelli 1994; Gordon and Silva forthcoming; Horowitz and Newcomb 2001; Kitzinger and Wilkinson 1995).

While an extensive body of literature about LGB identity construction exists, there is a gap of knowledge concerning the influence of complex intersections of personal and social experiences on sexual identities, especially for men. My research begins to fill that gap by examining how individuals of both sexes construct their sexual minority identity. In so doing, it sheds light on a complex process that is widely misunderstood. The research question that guided data collection and analysis is: "How do LGB individuals perceive personal interpretations and social experiences to have influenced their sexual identity?"

The current paper will use the framework of the theoretical sexual landscape model (Gordon and Silva forthcoming) to organize and analyze the results. The sexual landscape model addresses the ways in which social context, physical location, and personal interpretations influence sexual identity and sexual orientation, but this paper will utilize only the part of the model that describes sexual identity development. The participants in this study described a wide variety of influences that they perceived to have influenced their sexual identity, which can best be explained using the language, organization, and theoretical insight of this model. Before analyzing the results, I will provide a brief overview of the model and its conceptualization of sexual identity and orientation.

The model is an extension of Rust's (1996) study of bisexual women, which proposed that the many influences in one's sociohistorical context combine to form a "sexual landscape." Rust envisioned this sexual landscape as a three-dimensional plane on which numerous forces intersect to influence sexual identity construction. The landscape is composed of everything that is potentially relevant to people's sexual identity: their

identities, social context, cultural context, and historical time period; friends, family, acquaintances, and people with whom they come into contact but do not know; the media and the ideas, opinions, attitudes, interpretations, and discourses to which they are exposed; and the location in which they live and the areas they have traveled.

According to this model, changes to social context (referred to as "shifts to the sexual landscape") or movement to new towns and cities (described as "movement on the landscape") may influence personal interpretations of sexual identity. As the sexual landscape shifts or individuals move on it, their interpretations of their sexual identity will either change or be maintained/reinforced. Interpretations are an individual's perception of internal phenomena, such as attractions, or external events, such as meeting new friends. External events do not directly cause interpretations to change and are not determinative; any shifts or maintenance regarding individuals' sexual identity stems from their personal interpretations of internal or external phenomena, not external events themselves. Because all individuals exist on the dynamic and continually changing sexual landscape, the possibility for changes to one's sexual identity is always retained. Although sexual identity may be experienced as static, in reality it is either being changed or reinforced with each interpretation and encounter on the sexual landscape.

The model defines sexual orientation as a combination of attractions, behaviors, fantasies, thoughts, feelings and desires that individuals experience, and sexual identity as a label that denotes individuals' sexual orientation to others. Individuals may reinterpret how they understand their sexual identity, but this doesn't necessarily mean their sexual orientation has changed. For example, a gay-identified individual who meets new bisexual friends *may* reinterpret his sexual identity and even begin identifying as bisexual. Although his attractions may stay the same, the way he perceives their meaning to his sexual identity may change. This doesn't necessarily indicate a shift in sexual orientation, but rather a change in how he perceives his sexual identity. As stated previously, the current paper addresses only sexual identity, not sexual orientation.

The sexual landscape model is informed by three related theories: symbolic interactionism, scripting theory, and social constructionism. Symbolic interactionism emphasizes the ways in which meaning is formed and negotiated between individuals during the process of interaction, and how this meaning is created, modified, maintained, and transmitted over time (Blumer 1969; Cooley 1902; Mead 1934). The meanings individuals establish in their interactions influence their self-reflections, including the interpretations they make of their sexual identity. Scripting theory emphasizes the role of personal interpretations, social interactions, and cultural influences to explain how people process and act on norms for sexual behavior (Gagnon and Simon 1973). As scripting theory predicts, wider cultural forces, interactions between people, and individual meaning-

making influences how individuals perceive and put into action their sexuality, which will have ramifications for how they construct their sexual identity. Social constructionism analyzes the ways in which categories of social life perceived to be natural are actually created by societies (Gordon and Abbott 2003). Sexual identities are socially constructed categories that do not hold inherent meaning, explaining in part why sexual identity construction is an ongoing process for many.

METHODS

After being granted approval from the Human Subjects in Research Committee at California State University, Chico, I conducted interviews with ten participants. Seven were men, and each self-identified as gay. Of the three women, one identified as bisexual, one identified as a femme lesbian, and one stated that she normally identifies as lesbian but sometimes identifies as bisexual. Four participants were in their 20s, three were in their 30s, one was in his 40s, and two were in their 50s. All appeared to be white, though racial identification was not discussed. Six participants were in long-term relationships with the same sex, three were single, and one was in the process of separating from her same-sex partner. Two had previously been married to the opposite sex. All participants mentioned that they were currently "out" with their sexual identity. Of the five participants that noted their educational status, three had earned or were completing an undergraduate degree, one had earned a graduate degree, and one was attending a local community college. Occupational status was not directly addressed during the interviews, but most of the participants who described their occupations seemed to belong to the working-, lower-middle, or middle-class. Religious identification was not directly covered either, though several participants noted identifying as Christian and two stated that they identified as Jewish.

Participants were recruited for the project through various sources. Four saw an advertisement placed in the local LGBQ organization's weekly email newsletter. Six were recruited via word-of-mouth, five of whom heard from well-known individuals in the LGBQ community and one of whom was told by a friend who saw the newsletter.

I conducted one-time face-to-face interviews. The shortest interview lasted one hour and seventeen minutes and the longest was two-and-a-half hours, averaging about an hour-and-a-half. To each interview I brought a list of subtopics to cover that related to my research question. The interviews were loosely-structured and participant-directed, allowing participants to discuss what they felt was most important about their sexual identity instead of what I assumed was relevant to them. This allowed me to record rich, in-

depth information about the participants' lives. After each interview I assigned a pseudonym to the participants to protect their identities.

Once the interviews were completed, I transcribed the audio recordings and uploaded them to the qualitative data analysis software ATLAS.ti. Once uploaded, I began the process of open coding. During this stage, I created over 130 a priori, indigenous, and open codes and attached them to sections of the transcripts to identify recurring themes and patterns. As additional transcripts were coded and new codes created, I reread earlier transcripts and applied recently created codes. After open coding had concluded, I started the process of axial coding and began identifying common themes and patterns among the transcripts. It was during this stage that I found information concerning experiences that influenced the participants to publicly shift or to maintain their sexual identities. To provide support for the patterns I identified, I searched for negative cases among the transcripts during the process of selective coding.

RESULTS

In this paper I will detail the experiences participants underwent that influenced their sexual identity. Some of these influences led to a shift in sexual identity, whereas others reinforced/maintained the participants' identity. The data reveal three main experiences that led to shifts to or maintenance of sexual identity: shifts to the sexual landscape (changes to social context), movement on the sexual landscape (traveling to new towns and cities), and changes to interpretations. The following section details changes to both internal and public sexual identity, and in instances where I discuss only one I indicate so.

Shifts to the Sexual Landscape

Changing sexual identities is not simply a process of internal reflection, but also one of external influence. The participants identified several major shifts to their social surroundings that influenced their decision to transition sexual identities internally and/or publicly. They also experienced changes to their social context after they publicly shifted their identity, and these changes reinforced the identity they chose.

Friends served several important functions, including acting as role models or as providers of emotional support. New friends may present new information, ideas, or identity possibilities, which may in turn influence the interpretations individuals make of their own sexual identity. Shortly after Daphne had her first sexual experience with another woman and began questioning her sexuality, she made two friends who were openly lesbian. Daphne soon came out to these friends as bisexual. As Daphne said, "I came out [to them] and I wasn't comfortable being a lesbian [at that time], I was bisexual." Soon,

however, these friends influenced her to shift from bisexuality to lesbianism:

> …having the friend that I came out to first, having those two friends as lesbians, and they were totally comfortable and out and whatever in a really small town, made me feel empowered and strong within myself, so me making the shift from being bisexual to a lesbian because I had those role models wasn't as hard even though I was in a small town, so, if I didn't have them, who knows where I would have been… (Daphne)

Although Daphne's friends didn't change her attractions, they did act as role models by exposing her to an alternative identity. By doing this and providing social support, Daphne's close friends influenced her to internally and publicly shift sexual identities. Social and emotional support from friends may influence individuals to change their sexual identity, something that may not occur if that support is absent.

Involvement in LGBQ communities was another major shift to the sexual landscape of several participants. By offering support and confirmation of sexual minority identities, LGBQ communities may influence individuals to publicly claim or internally maintain sexual minority identities. Joey noted that immersing himself into a gay community was a validating experience:

> [F]inding out that there [were] people like me, I felt, I was very closeted so I felt all alone, like I'm the only one that's like this, with all these issues and problems, and I'm not. And that was a big thing to me, experiencing that and finding that out from people as I pursued gaybars.com or meeting people. (Joey)

Importantly, Joey's new community validated his experiences as a closeted and married gay man, reaffirmed his internal gay sexual identity, and gave him the support to publicly shift identities. Cooper and Dan Thomas reiterated how crucial it was to have access to an LGBQ community when they began publicly shifting their sexual identity. While individuals with same-sex attractions may still internally and publicly identify as LGBQ without an available community, LGBQ communities offer options for supporting existing sexual identities and transitioning into others. LGBQ communities became an important force for many of the participants who internally identified as gay before interacting with this group, including Seamus and Cooper, by reinforcing their sexual identity when they began disclosing it publicly.

Sexual minority communities not only provide social support, but may also increase pressure to publicly identify certain ways. Daphne explained that her public and internal

transition from bisexuality to lesbianism was motivated primarily by her reinterpretations of her sexuality, but also in part by the communities with which she interacted:

> I think it was more of a safety thing, and just realizing stuff within me, like I'm attracted to women, more than I'm attracted to men, and actually being with a woman and seeing how it was, and I've always been a little bit teetering on the fence, I think more of like a 'I'm lesbian, no I'm bisexual, no I'm lesbian, no I'm bisexual,' I think it was more of a self acceptance, wanting to fit in, all that kind of stuff. (Daphne)

Daphne expanded on this statement to explain that biphobia was (and is) pervasive in the lesbian communities into which she immersed herself. Although Daphne noted that she generally focuses sexually and romantically on women, she made it clear that she nonetheless feels restricted in such intolerant spaces. While the lesbian community did not cause Daphne to change the way she felt about men, it influenced the sexual identity she felt comfortable claiming publicly. Peggy, who identifies as bisexual, experienced similar marginalization within both the heterosexual and the lesbian community. Unlike Daphne, however, Peggy's experiences with marginalization did not influence her internal or public sexual identity.

People of romantic interest comprised the third important shift to the sexual landscape. Meeting partners or potential partners may be paramount to the decision to publicly shift sexual identities or to reconsider the "accuracy" of a current internal sexual identity. After Otto developed strong feelings for a friend, he publicly and internally shifted identities:

> [I] had been really attracted to a band member that was in a band that I played in when I was a teenager. And was coming on to him pretty strong, and he suggested that I go speak to his mother, who is a really kind soul, and really I came out to her first, you know. Like 'Hey, I'm in love with your son,' and all this sort of girly stuff, I'm not sure that I'm gay, per se, of course I was still lying to myself at that point, but within like two weeks, it's like yep, yep, gay, no problem. (Otto)

Roger recounted a similar experience, explaining that after he secretly started a relationship with a romantic partner he no longer cared whether people found out about his attractions to men. For both Otto and Roger, individuals of romantic interest gave their same-sex attractions newfound importance, leading to a public shifting of identities. Several participants did not share the experiences of Otto and Roger, however. Sassy

engaged in same-sex intimacy as a teenager and did not shift sexual identities either internally or publicly for several decades, while other participants, including Bill and Seamus, had same-sex sexual experiences that did not lead to a public shifting of identity for many years. Sassy did not describe the nature of her encounters, but Bill and Seamus characterized their experiences as more playful and experimental in nature; this contrasts with the emotional feelings of Otto and Roger. It's likely that many participants, including Bill and Seamus, did not feel driven to publicly disclose their sexual identity because their experiences had little emotional significance. As these complex narratives indicate, shifts to the sexual landscape are not determinative, and individuals that experience similar situations may interpret the meaning of these phenomena differently.

Individuals the participants did not know personally but with whom they came into contact caused other important changes to the sexual landscape. Meeting or seeing individuals that have embraced a particular sexual identity may indicate to others what kind of sexual possibilities are available for claiming. Both Seamus and Bill noted that seeing openly LGBQ individuals was extremely important to their decision to publicly shift identities. Bill stated this succinctly:

> …She definitely I think gave me the strength and more of the courage to come out, because being such, her being who she was, she was a very stereotypical butch lesbian, so it was very easy to know that, oh, she's obviously a lesbian, obviously proud, and obviously out, yeah, I can do this too. (Bill)

The point Bill made is very important: Individuals that someone does not personally know may still act as role models to follow.

The last major shift to the sexual landscape that participants experienced involved the media. The media enhances the visibility of sexual minorities, in this way offering alternative sexual identities and providing information about sexual identities. Seamus noted that he had always known he was attracted to males, but adopted a gay identity after he saw that people similar to him were labeled as gay in the media:

> And again I already had these feelings so I kind of felt like because of the media I had a little bit more of an opportunity to be open about it, or maybe it was the time to actually do it [come out], so I did with my sister. (Seamus)

The visibility of a new sexual label not only presented Seamus an internal identity to claim, but also provided him an opportunity to publicly shift his sexual identity to family and

friends at a later time. For Sassy, different forms of media presented her the ability to research information about others who changed sexual identities later in life, and in so doing reinforced her recently changed internal and public sexual identity.

Movement on the Sexual Landscape

Many of the participants moved or traveled to new cities throughout their lives. This mobility put participants on a new sexual landscape. The following section will cover the moves that were the most important for the participants' sexual identities. This section, like the last, discusses social context, but unlike the last section it emphasizes social contexts experienced by participants *as a result of traveling or moving*. Because many of the participants experienced these changes as profound and distinguished them from other changes to their social context, I have organized them into a separate category.

Locations with larger and more visible LGBQ communities may provide opportunities for individuals to reaffirm their internal sexual identities and create social support bonds. Further, LGBQ communities may not only maintain but may also increase the importance of sexual identities, as the defining feature of group members is sexual identity. Joey was a closeted and married gay man with few opportunities to secretly meet gay men, so the gay communities of other cities were of paramount importance to his ability to explore his internal sexual identity:

> ...[The bartender] gave me that first boost in life, he gave me my first real gay friends, from out of town. And, because even then, I don't think at that time when I was there I had discovered the [main] local gay bar where I lived yet... I discovered gaybars.com, and that's where it all started. And then, once I had friends here, had friends along the coast, it just grew from there. And then I found and experienced everything from there. (Joey)

These contacts gave Joey an entirely new social support system that embraced and validated his experiences, reinforcing his secret gay internal identity. Joey explained that being involved in gay communities outside his hometown, in larger cities where there was more of a gay presence, put him on a trajectory that would result in him publicly shifting his identity. Similarly, Seamus and Daphne recounted moving to central California to be in an area where there were more prominent LGBQ communities. Both had publicly shifted identities shortly before the move to central California, suggesting that the new communities helped reinforce their internal and public sexual identity.

Other moves on the sexual landscape presented the ability to explore new sexual opportunities not possible in the participants' hometowns. In this way, periodically

traveling to new sexual landscapes may provide a form of sexual tourism, influencing conditions that may lead to changes to or the maintenance of one's sexual identity. When Peggy traveled to Europe during her senior year in high school, she moved to an area outside of the supervision of family that may have restricted sexual exploration. Being in a new place allowed Peggy the chance to experiment with her sexuality:

> I: It almost sounds like when you mentioned that when you met the woman in Europe and she hit on you, that made you realize that that was an option.
> P: Right.
> I: Is that accurate, or?
> P: Actually, it is. It is accurate. Because I was like well, I'm in a new place, a new clean slate, no one is here to tell me that that's wrong… (Peggy)

Being in Europe allowed Peggy to explore and "test" the same-sex attractions that she had not addressed while living in the Southern US. Similarly, Dan Thomas is provided more opportunities to explore his sexuality by traveling to other cities for the sole purpose of having sex. Notably, Dan Thomas mentioned that in some sex clubs he has been starting to explore sexual behavior with both men and women. In this way, although Dan Thomas internally and publicly identifies as gay and normally has sex with men, he is able to explore opposite-sex sexuality and, possibly, reinterpret the applicability of his gay identity label.

It is possible that even in areas where being open about non-heterosexual identities is not an option because of safety concerns, minority sexual identities remain important because so much energy is put forth hiding them that the identity is constantly being pushed to the forefront of someone's mind. Although this point was not directly addressed in interviews, Otto explained that having to be secretive about his sexual identity actually heightened the emotions he felt during sex:

> I: So you mentioned that it [sex] was more exciting with men?
> O: Absolutely.
> I: So now, why do you think that was?
> O: Well, there was that risk factor involved, and also considering at that particular time there weren't gay characters on television, there wasn't access to any of the media that we have now. This was like 1990, about 1990. And so that whole thing was super taboo, and foreign, and then it was just, it was... one of those crazy things where it was just way more titillating. Just more, I don't know, amazing, for lack of a better term.
> I: So it sounds like the secrecy and risk, that's what turned you on, quite a bit.

> O: That was part of it, absolutely. I mean the secrecy and the risk added to it, there was no doubt that I wanted it, there was no doubt for me, it was more of a matter of me acting on it... (Otto)

Otto explained that this feeling lasted for years even after he publicly shifted identities (to select individuals), not only because he lived during a time when there was little visibility of LGBQ individuals, but also because he lived in a very intolerant area. Although this quote does not reveal changes to Otto's sexual identity, it does indicate that the level of secrecy necessitated by the time period and area in which he lived shaped his sexual experiences. Otto took considerable effort to structure his life in such a way that his sexual behavior and sexual identity were kept hidden from most people, and by doing so it is possible that the importance of both increased. In this way, it is likely that the time period and region in which he lived, counter-intuitively, actually reinforced his internal gay sexual identity (and the public gay identity he shared with only select individuals).

Changes to Interpretation

I have already detailed changes to interpretations of sexual identity influenced by external events, such as meeting new people and moving to new cities. Now we turn our attention toward changes to interpretations of sexual identity stemming from interpretations of thoughts, feelings, and attractions. The interpretation an individual makes of a particular feeling may influence how that individual perceives her or his sexual identity. Once these interpretations are made, they build on each other, and the basis for understanding one's sexual identity is formed. This section is analyzed through the lens of symbolic interactionism. The participants established meanings about sexuality, including sexual identity, in their interactions with others. These meanings influenced their self-reflections, including the interpretations they made of their sexual identity.

One shift in interpretation concerned the meaning of attractions, behaviors, and fantasies to sexual identity. These phenomena are only relevant to sexual identity when they are given meaning and examined in the context of sexual identity. When the meaning of attractions, behaviors, and fantasies shifts, the interpretation someone makes of their sexual identity may also change. One participant, Sassy, reinterpreted her internal sexual identity when she realized she could identify as lesbian instead of heterosexual. When she realized this, she reinterpreted the meaning of her attractions, behaviors, and fantasies to her internal sexual identity. Although Sassy had sexual encounters with women as a teenager and experienced attractions to and fantasies about women her entire life, these were not meaningful to her internal sexual identity until she realized she could claim a lesbian identity:

> I had experiences when I was a teenager, with women, sexually, and also as far as attraction was concerned, and then you just live your life. It's not like I gave it a lot of thought, like it was an option for me to live this way. I didn't really see it as an option because I was just raised by society and by my mom that this [heterosexuality] is, this is how you live. (Sassy)

The interpretation of Sassy's attractions, fantasies, and past sexual experiences did not change, but the interpretation of the *meaning* of them to her sexual identity did change. Sassy explained that her subsequent internal and public transition to a lesbian identity allowed her to be who she felt she always was. Similarly, Otto was able to claim a sexual identity that he felt reflected who he was. Although Otto had considerable sexual experience with women in the past and noted that he went through a time of "heterocuriosity," as a young man he began emphasizing his attractions to men and deemphasizing those to women:

> It was more along the lines of being true with myself and... thinking about how my thoughts had changed when I would fantasize when I was alone in my room, from being with females to just solely being with men... pretty much soul searching... thinking 'Ok, what am I truly attracted to.' Because again, you fall back on learned behavior, those gender roles, I'm supposed to be a man, and love women, and all that sort of thing. (Otto)

By emphasizing his (stronger) attractions to men over those to women, Otto formed the personal foundation for an internal and public gay identity. When Sassy changed her internal and public sexual identity and Otto determined that he was more attracted to men than to women, they interpreted this change as one that allowed them to be "the person they had always been." While their sexual orientation did not change, the way they interpreted their sexual identity did change. Before internally changing sexual identities neither Sassy nor Otto thought of themselves as lesbian or gay and did not interpret their feelings through this framework; it was only when they internally changed sexual identities that they thought of themselves as lesbian or gay. Thus, while Sassy and Otto had the same attractions after they claimed their new sexual identity as they did before, and while both interpreted their new sexual identity as a more accurate label to reflect their sexuality, it did not cause them to become "who they always were."

Closely related to the realization that claiming a lesbian identity was an available option was the understanding that a non-heterosexual identity was an acceptable option to claim. People who have negative feelings about non-heterosexual sexual identities may not

see these identities as possibilities for themselves, even if they have same-sex attractions. Daphne described dealing with her internalized homophobia after her close friends came out as lesbian to her, and how this complicated internal process led her to reinterpret the acceptability of internally claiming a non-heterosexual identity:

> ...I guess it took a little while for it to develop... I guess just letting it sit with myself and realizing that it was OK and that people are normal and they were my close friends, and I had no idea, and so. I don't know. I guess just being OK with it, inside with me. (Daphne)

By resolving this conflict, Daphne began a process that would lead her to internally and publicly claim a bisexual identity.

Similarly, depending upon the weight placed on sexual attractions and sexual behaviors, a variety of sexual identities are potentially available for claiming. These interpretations may influence how individuals perceive the appropriateness of a sexual identity label. Although Bill had sex with women in the past, he considers an internal and public gay identity more appropriate than a bisexual identity because he places more meaning on his exclusive sexual attractions to men than on his past, and largely unsatisfying, sexual experiences with women:

> I can actually remember thinking about that for a long time... trying [to] figure out well am I bisexual, what is this? And it kind of came to the head of me thinking, 'Well, no. There's no sexual attractions to me,' I mean yes, I can have sex with a girl, and I've done it plenty of times, [but]... there's no mental satisfaction, there's no, I mean yeah there's physical satisfaction, but like it's .3 seconds of like, 'Well that was awesome,' you know. Great. And then dealing with the mental anguish that kind of is associated with it, so can I say with absolute certainty that there was no [satisfaction]. (Bill)

Other interpretations concerned how well the participants perceived the definition of a sexual identity label to “match” their sexuality. Sexual identities have no clear definitions, and individuals adopt one based on how they interpret that identity label to “match” their sexuality. Interestingly, there were five participants that noted attractions to varying degrees to both men and women, though only one identified as bisexual and the other four identified as lesbian or gay. Otto noted that it is his understanding that bisexuals are equally attracted to both sexes and that gay men are more attracted to men and enjoy sex with them more, which is why he identifies as gay. It is possible that having this

understanding of sexual identity and emphasizing his attractions to men over those to women may have influenced his internal and public sexual identity. Otto noted that he is far more attracted to men than to women and that he will likely never have sex with a woman again, but also that he does still feel attractions to some women.

Similarly, an important aspect of sexual identity may be the meaning placed on physical attractions and emotional attractions. It is not only the *presence* of physical and emotional attractions felt for a certain sex that influences sexual identity, but also the *importance* placed on these attractions. Daphne and Sassy explained that they internally and publicly identify as lesbian in part because, although they are physically attracted to both sexes, they are more physically attracted to women than to men, and in part because the weight they place on their emotional attractions to women and on their desire for intimacy with women are of paramount importance to their sexual identity.

Although several participants discussed changes to their interpretations of their thoughts, feelings, and attractions, there were others that did not experience shifts to their interpretations of these elements. For several participants, including Joey, Seamus, Roger, and Cooper, the interpretations of their internal events did not change. What did shift for them was the importance of their identity and the ways in which the landscape influenced how and when they were open about their sexuality.

DISCUSSION

The data from this project has shown that personal interpretations and social experiences influence the decision to adopt a sexual identity label. Many assume that sexual identities are natural labels that individuals instinctively apply to themselves. Instead, sexual identity labels are social constructions. Sexual identity construction, while often perceived to be an extremely personal process, is actually a highly social phenomenon.

There were three main categories of experiences that influenced the participants to internally and/or publicly change or maintain their sexual identity: shifts to their social context; movement to new towns and cities; and changes to their personal interpretations of their sexual identity. The sexual landscape changed when the participants made new friends, met new people of romantic interest, came into contact with LGBQ individuals they did not personally know, were exposed to new media sources, and became more involved in the LGBQ community. By moving to new towns and cities, the participants were able to experiment with their sexual identity in ways not possible in their hometowns or were able to immerse themselves in larger LGBQ communities. When personal interpretations of thoughts, feelings, and attractions changed, so too did the understanding the participants had of their sexual identity. Using the framework of Gordon and Silva's (forthcoming)

sexual landscape, I have explained the experiences participants underwent that influenced their sexual identity.

This research joins an expanding body of literature about sexual identity development. The results of this project are consistent with Rust's (1992) and Diamond's (2003) study of lesbian and bisexual women, as well as Kitzinger and Wilkinson's (1995) study of lesbian women. All three found that sexual identity development is strongly influenced by personal interpretations of one's sexuality. Similarly, the findings from this project indicate that sexual identity construction is an ongoing process (see also D'Augelli 1994; Diamond 2003; Diamond 2005; Gordon and Silva forthcoming; Horowitz and Newcomb 2001; Kitzinger and Wilkinson 1995; Rust 1992; Rust 1996) and is influenced by personal interpretations and social experiences.

A weakness of this research is its small and somewhat homogenous sample. Future research would benefit from examining the experiences of a larger and more diverse sample of individuals. In particular, future research should aim to include more individuals who identify as bisexual and queer; because both of these identity labels tend to be marginalized even within LGBQ networks, the identity construction process may be different for these groups. Further, future studies should aim to include more women and have greater diversity in terms of race, class, and religion. Participants in the current research recalled many different experiences that influenced their sexual identity, suggesting that greater diversity in future samples might indicate more influences to sexual identity construction.

Another weakness of this research is the reliance on retrospective accounts. Because sexual identity change may occur when individuals reinterpret the meaning of memories using their current perspective (Plummer 1996; Troiden 1988), it is possible that the way some participants remembered events was different than the way they experienced them at the time. Nonetheless, it is important for future research to include individuals in a variety of age groups to capture possible generational differences in sexual identity construction.

The information demonstrated in this paper has significant implications for future research. Future studies need to acknowledge that sexual identity construction is a complex process that does not have a "correct" or permanent end result. Rather, it is a process that is unique for each individual, given the differing personal and social contexts in her or his life. Further, by no longer assuming sexual identity is a substitution for sexual orientation, researchers can more comprehensively study both phenomena.

While sexual identities are socially constructed, they are real and important to the people who adopt them. Several participants explained that their sexual identity is a core personal identity. Publicly shifting their identities allowed them to live their lives more

happily and with fewer constraints, using a label they perceived to be the most accurate way to denote their sexuality. Although personal and social experiences influenced the participants' sexual identities, the identities they currently claim are valid, as will be any other sexual identities they may choose to adopt in the future. Because individuals claim a sexual identity based on personal interpretations they make of their sexuality and of different sexual identities, one cannot say that another has an "inaccurate" sexual identity.

Although this research may seem threatening to sexual identities and the communities built around them, it can in fact strengthen both. Because sexual identities are neither permanent nor innate, we can better appreciate how we came to adopt them. Further, knowing that sexual identities are constructed will allow us to better recognize the unique relationship this creates between us and other individuals with similar sexual identities. Sexual identities are often central, core identities and frameworks by which to judge ourselves. By exploring the roots of sexual identity labels, we can better understand them, better appreciate why they are so important to us, and more accurately understand our sexuality.

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Biographies

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Kelli Brodbeck will graduate in May 2014 with a B.A. in sociology from Stonehill College. Kelli developed this paper from her senior honors thesis which she completed, under the guidance of Dr. Christopher Wetzel, over three semesters and during the summer of 2013 as a Stonehill Undergraduate Research Experience program scholar. She also presented a portion of her thesis at a roundtable while participating in the 2013 American Sociological Association's Undergraduate Honors Program. At Stonehill, Kelli has served for two semesters as a teaching assistant in Sociological Theories and has traveled to the Dominican Republic for two alternative spring break service trips. In the Fall of 2014, she will begin a doctoral program in sociology, planning to study culture, work and occupations, and social psychology.

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Nicholas Florko graduated Magna Cum Laude in the spring of 2013 from American University with bachelor's degrees in International Studies and Sociology. He solidified an interest in labor movements after graduating from the New York Union Semester program, earning an undergraduate certificate in Labor Studies from the CUNY School of Professional Studies. He is a member of the Phi Beta Kappa and Alpha Kappa Delta Honor Societies. This work was adapted from his Sociology senior thesis, which focused on USAS leaders' conceptions of solidarity. Preliminary results of this study were presented at the Robyn Rafferty Mathias Student Research Conference. His research interests include uneven development, labor movements, urban sociology and the intersection of Marxist geography and social movement theory. He currently works as a labor organizer.

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Iyla Ollinger was born in San Francisco and spent the first ten years of her life flourishing in the Noe Valley district. With the help from many generous scholarships, Iyla studied Sociology and Psychology at University of California, Berkeley. While at UC Berkeley, she served as the Co-President of the Association of Psychology Undergraduates, a Research Assistant for the UCB/UCLA Middle School Diversity Project, Managing Editor for Eleven: The Undergraduate Journal of Sociology, a Grant Intern at Techbridge, and as the Program

Manager for the Berkeley Journal of Sociology. After earning her dual degree, Iyla worked and studied abroad in France, Turkey, and Argentina. She currently resides in Chile where she is mastering Spanish. Iyla hopes to become a history teacher at a public high school in California and will eventually earn her PhD in Education so that she can work in education policy.

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Koji Sano is currently studying sociology as a major and statistics as a minor at Maryville College and graduating in May 2014. As an international student in the U.S., she had many chances to find cultural differences between the U.S. and Japanese society. Koji's research on the *Senpai-Kouhai* culture was motivated by one of those "culture shocks." But she is originally fascinated by school cultures in general and/or cultures that influence students' behavior in schools. Therefore, this interest in school culture also motivated her to conduct this research on *Senpai-Kouhai* culture. Koji is also interested in African cultures, especially those of East African countries such as South Sudan and Uganda where she has a personal connection built through internship experience in 2012. To satisfy the interest in African culture, Koji will start studying in the master's program in anthropology and education at Teachers College, Columbia University from Fall 2014. Further, she is hoping to pursue a PhD degree in the same discipline in order to develop expertise on African cultures and to apply its knowledge to support educational development which adopts local cultures.

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Tony Silva is a first-year MA student at Southern Illinois University Carbondale and a recipient of the 2013-2014 Master's Fellowship. He graduated summa cum laude with a B.A. in Sociology, with honors in the major, from California State University, Chico in 2012. His research interests include sexuality and gender, with sexual identity as a particular emphasis. He is currently interviewing men who identify as straight and have sex with men to understand how they perceive their sexual identity and gender. His goal is to earn a doctorate and become a professor.